# Workers Of The World Unite For Peace, Freedom, Plenty!


# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. VIII—No. 18 | NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, APRIL 29, 1944 | PRICE: FIVE CENTS


## May Day Manifesto Of The Socialist Workers Party

May Day, the international workers' holiday, is being celebrated this year amid the first rumblings of the socialist revolution. Through the noise of battle and the shattering crash of high explosives hurled on populous cities can be heard ever more distinctly the thunder of the approaching revolutionary storm.

We are in the fifth year of the second world war. Capitalism in its death agony has hurled humanity into a maelstrom of death and destruction before which even the horrors of the first world war fade into shadows. Europe is being turned into a wasteland.

With cynical indifference toward the sufferings of the masses, the capitalist rulers—both fascist and "democratic"—boast of the destruction of whole cities and their inhabitants. Millions already fill the mass graves of the second world war. The Jews of Europe are being exterminated in an orgy of anti-Semitic pogroms. Hundreds of thousands of homeless, hungry refugees wander despairingly over lands seared and ruined by the holocaust. Crippled, blinded and demented soldiers, flower of the youth of the nations, are pouring home from the battle-fronts. Casualty lists are lengthening.

According to the available statistics, casualties among the armed forces of the belligerents, excluding China and Japan, already number close to 11,000,000 killed, missing, wounded and prisoners. And these figures do not include the millions of civilians killed or maimed by aerial bombardment of cities or by hunger and disease, nor do they include the thousands of merchant seamen killed at sea. And still there is no end in sight.

But already there are abundant signs that the war-weary, tortured masses are beginning to intervene. They are beginning to move independently, resolved to take their fate into their own hands and to determine the questions that involve their lives and future.

We saw the first mighty demonstration of working class resurgence and of the power latent in the proletariat by the crushing of the 20 year-old Fascist regime in Italy. We saw again that the Italian revolution, though temporarily retarded by the combined military intervention of the Allies and the Nazis, still lives. The Italian workers of the industrial North are fighting the Nazi occupation with general strikes and demonstrations.

Underground working class movements are gaining strength in all occupied countries. The shadow of civil war hangs over France. In England, the workers are demonstrating in strike struggles and political demonstrations their determination to break the noose of class collaboration fastened on them by the treacherous trade union and labor party bureaucracies. The growing frequency and increasing militancy of the strikes, and now the new punitive government decree against strikes point unmistakably to the sharpening of the class struggle.

In Germany, the vanguard of the working class, right in the teeth of the Nazi terror, is rallying its forces and assembling its revolutionary vanguard. Only the other day dispatches reported that the first underground communist convention gathered "somewhere in Germany" and reconstituted a national trade union organization. "The German Communists," we learn, "are said to be internationalists, or as they would be called in Moscow, Trotskyites."

The war structure of Japanese imperialism is at last beginning to crack. Japanese workers and peasants are engaging in strikes and hunger riots.

The Soviet masses have been conducting a heroic and progressive struggle in their indomitable defense of those conquests of the October revolution that have survived despite the arch-reactionary regime of Stalinism. Contrary to all the fainthearts, turncoats, deserters and renegades, the Russian revolution, though desecrated, betrayed and stifled, still lives. And let it be remembered, it was precisely the impact of the Red Army victories that evoked and encouraged the insurgent movements on the continent of Europe.

**The defense of the USSR remains a line of demarcation in the labor movement between Marxist revolutionists and all the muddleheads, fainthearts, opportunists, centrists and renegades.**

The war which has given the Kremlin bureaucracy a temporary breathing spell has at the same time completely revealed the counter-revolutionary nature of this malignant growth on the organism of the first workers state. Stalin is seeking to exploit the victories of the Red Army abroad by entering into conspiracy with the "democracies" to try to drown the European revolution in blood. Inside the Soviet Union, Stalin has used the war to deprive the masses of their remaining cultural gains. The right of free, universal education has been abrogated; co-education has been abolished; nothing remains of the protective legislation for women. The Greek Orthodox Church and its Holy Synod, together with other most barbaric traditions of "Holy Russia" have been revived with the blessings of the Kremlin. A military caste has been raised as the main prop of Stalin's regime and arrogated to it have been privileges that go beyond even the Czarist and Prussian standards.

Inseparable from the real defense of the Soviet Union is the irreconcilable fight against Stalinism, its regime and its policies.

**For the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against all imperialist powers! Down With Stalinism!**

Everywhere the deadly passivity of the workers, the product of the demoralization and apathy of more than two decades of betrayals and defeats, is giving way to a new confidence and a new determination to struggle. The new vigor and new hope find their most graphic expression in the reorganization and regroupment in one country after another of the genuine fighters for Socialism.

On every side we witness the growing discontent and disillusionment of the workers with the war, their growing realization that both the Anglo-American and the German camps are engaged in a war that is imperialist in its aims; that the Anglo-American coalition is fighting not for high ideals or great principles, not to smash the system of Fascism, but, just as the German imperialists, for markets, for colonies, for spheres of influence, for the right to exploit. The real aims of Roosevelt and Churchill and the Anglo-American capitalist classes they represent, are not to be found in the pious platitudes and hypo-

(Continued on page 4)

# POLL-TAXERS BATTLE TO RETAIN 'WHITE SUPREMACY'

*MAY DAY 1944*

## Southern Bourbons Mobilize To Defy U. S. Supreme Court

### Vow Violent Resistance to Anti-Poll Tax Bill and Ruling Against 'White Primaries'

*By Joseph Keller*

**"Liberal" Democratic and Republican Senators have folded up like wet rags before the Southern Democratic poll-tax bloc and are conspiring to stall the Anti-Poll Tax Bill debate scheduled to begin several weeks ago. Meanwhile, the political guardians of "white supremacy" are demonstrating through their savage resistance to the Supreme Court's recent ruling against "white" primaries that they are prepared to wage a ruthless fight to preserve the poll tax system safeguarding their domination and exploitation of the Southern masses.**

While some liberals have hailed the Supreme Court decision upholding the right of Negroes to vote in Texas Democratic primaries as nothing less than a "Second Emancipation Proclamation," the Southern Bourbons of today have seized upon this issue in order to leave no doubt that they are no less intent on maintaining their power and privileges than were the slave-holders of yesterday. The Southern guardians of "law and order" openly threaten violent resistance to any challenge of their rule. Their words are not mere bluster; they carry the weight of an armed, organized and vicious minority which maintains a crushing domination over millions and has never balked at any means, however violent and cruel, for enforcing its rule.

SENATOR MAYBANK

United States Senator Burnet R. Maybank of South Carolina spoke for the whole rich white master class of the South when he declared that "regardless of any Supreme Court decision and any laws that may be passed by Congress, we of the South will maintain our political and social institutions as we believe to be in the best interest of our people."

The entire political machinery of the South—state legislatures, courts, police agencies, Democratic party organizations—is already pouring out new legal devices for circumventing the Supreme Court's ruling. The South Carolina state legislature, meeting in extraordinary session, last week erased 150 primary laws from its statute books, making the direction of the primaries a "private" matter. The Democratic State Convention has prepared legislation removing formal racial restrictions but establishing "geographical" qualifications. Scores of other similar measures are rolling through the Southern legislative mills.

All these extraordinary measures, be it noted, are evoked by a ruling which even if enforced would offer only a few thousand more Negroes, not otherwise disqualified, the doubtful privilege of casting a ballot for candidates of the capitalist Democratic Party devoted to keeping the Negro in subjection. Even the Southern Bourbons know the Supreme Court's decision cannot possibly threaten their political domination. But their concern is with principle. They refuse to tolerate even an intimation that the Negroes have political or any other rights.

"LILY-WHITE" PRIMARIES

The "lily-white" primaries are in fact only a tiny sector of the Siegfried Line of laws, institutions and ideology the Southern ruling class has erected to safeguard its dictatorship. There are property qualifications for voting which the impoverished masses of the South cannot meet. There are "literacy" tests that an Einstein could not pass, and "character" tests that would disfranchise the Twelve Apostles. There are stringent residence requirements. And for those who stubbornly force their way through all the barbed-wire legal entanglements, there always remains the one final obstacle, intimidation and terrorism—the threat of loss of employment, a frameup rap on the chain-gang, or even —lynching.

In reality, the savage denunciations, the rabid threats, the defiance of legality, the mobilization for evading and resisting the Supreme Court's decision on the primaries are but a minor skirmish, a warm-up for the battle ahead in defense of the poll tax. By this means, 97 per cent of the population of the poll tax states are disfranchised. The Southern rulers are thus able to keep the entire working mass of the South,

(Continued on page 5)

## Goodrich URW Local Backs Fight To Free The Eighteen

Goodrich local 5 of the United Rubber Workers of America, recognized in Akron and throughout the CIO as an exponent of progressive trade unionism, took an unequivocal stand last week in support of the 18 trade union and Trotskyist leaders imprisoned under the notorious Smith "Gag" Act.

In a letter to President Roosevelt, George R. Bass, President of Local 5, stated: "The enclosed resolution was adopted by the membership of Local No. 5, URWA-CIO, with instructions that a copy be sent to you so that you may use your influence to correct the injustice that has been shown the eighteen members of organized labor and the Socialist Workers Party who are now serving twelve and sixteen-month federal prison sentences.

"These men and women were not convicted for anything they did, but rather for what they believed. They are the first to be convicted under the Smith "Gag" Act, which is the first statute since 1798 to make the mere expression of opinion a federal crime. The upholding of this law is contrary to every principle of democracy, and it is a dangerous precedent which can be used against other unionists and political groups.

"We can ill afford to allow the courts of this land to make such a mistake and let it go unchallenged. Our only appeal after such mistakes have been made, as in this case, is to you, as the Chief Executive of the United States.

**"The membership of Local 5, URWA, requests that you grant unconditional pardon and immediate release to these people...."**

The resolution is signed by the seven officers of the local union. The local also voted a contribution of $25 to the Civil Rights Defense Comcittee.

THE "ADVANCE"

The Advance, organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America-CIO, reaching a quarter of a million readers, on April 15th reported: "'When the U. S. Supreme Court three times refused to review the Minneapolis Case, it thereby refused to test the constitutionality of the Smith Act. This now places a legal weapon in the hands of reaction. Under the Smith Act neither overt action nor 'a clear and present danger' need be proved, and men can be imprisoned for their opinion alone. **The Civil Rights Defense Committee, authorized representative of the 18 prisoners, is conducting a national campaign to free the men, repeal the Smith Act and provide relief for the prisoners and their families. A national campaign has been opened to get 10,000 signatures on petitions by July 1st."**

Nick Hughes, Asst. Secretary of Local 104, Boilermakers Union-AFL, who was a scheduled speaker at the Mass Meeting held in Seattle under the auspices of the Local CRDC declared in the April 13 issue of the **104 Reporter:** "The campaign to free these 18 trade unionists and socialists is of great importance to the labor movement as a whole . . . As is clearly evident, this Smith Act can become a weapon against the entire labor movement if it is allowed to go unchallenged, and unless all labor and liberal forces make a determined effort to free the 18. It might be pointed out that poll-tax Congressman Smith of Virginia is also co-author of the notorious Smith-Connally anti-strike law."

Arthur LeSeuer, prominent attorney of Minneapolis, who participated in outstanding labor defense cases in the past and was one of the defense counsel at the Minneapolis labor trial, last week wrote to the CRDC:

(Continued on page 5)

INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS

**According to WPB expert John M. Fewkes, industrial accidents—nine-tenths of which are preventable—account for "ten times" as many lost man-hours as strikes. The Labor Department says, that industrial accidents last year were "the highest in history," and that even considering increased employment, "the accident rate went up again in 1943."**

**Lives lost were 18,400; permanently crippled, 110,000; laid up for an average of 15 day each, 2,225,000. Mr. Fewkes's corroborative testimony says industrial accidents between Pearl Harbor and January 1, 1944, killed 7,500 more Americans than the war did; that the permanently and temporarily disabled industrial workers outnumbered military wounded and missing by 60 to 1.**

## Akron Locals Will Continue to Fight Against Dalrymple

AKRON, O., April 21—In a move to avert a dangerous split in the United Rubber Workers Union, Goodrich Local 5 voted at a well-attended general membership meeting April 19, to reinstate International President Sherman H. Dalrymple in the local, but resolved to carry the fight for union democracy to the next convention.

In his report to the meeting, Goodrich Local President George Bass pointed out that the International General Executive Board has the right "to interpret or misinterpret the constitution between conventions." The International Board had ruled that the action of the Goodrich local in expelling Dalrymple was unconstitutional. To disregard the right of the General Executive board to interpret constitutional provisions on this matter would be an invitation to the Dalrymple

(Continued on page 2)

MAY DAY GREETINGS FROM NATALIA TROTSKY

—See Page 3—

## Murray Supports 'Wage Stabilization' As Employers Lobby To Lift Price Lid

Philip Murray is supposed to be leading the fight of the steelworkers for a wage increase of 17 cents an hour. This wage demand goes beyond the Little Steel formula. Furthermore, as head of the CIO, which went on record at its last convention to smash the Little Steel formula, Murray is presumed to be organizing the national struggle to smash the wage freeze. The wage freezing Little Steel formula, as everybody knows, is being enforced by the War Labor Board under the **Wage Stabilization Act, supplemented** by Roosevelt's "hold-the line" order of April 8, 1943. Only a few weeks ago, on the first anniversary of the "hold-the-line" order, Roosevelt endorsed a report drawn up by his "economic stabilizers" which emphasized the determination of the administration to hold the wage freezing line against the workers.

Under the circumstances, it is obvious that any struggle to smash the Little Steel formula must be directed first and foremost against the wage freezing program of the administration! But the "labor statesmen" in the leadership of the CIO are attempting the remarkable feat of being both FOR and AGAINST the administration's "stabilization" policy. A number of the top leaders of the CIO, including Philip Murray, R. J. Thomas and James B. Carey, appeared before the Senate Currency and Banking Committee to urge the extension of the Price Control Act and the Wage Stabilization Act, both of which expire on June 30. These measures constitute the twin legislative pillars supporting Roosevelt's "economic stabilization program."

The **N. Y. Times, April 19,** reports that Murray "endorsed the Wage Stabilization Act, but condemned its administration by the War Labor Board, charging that the board had used the Little Steel formula to hamstring labor." But the WLB is bound by Roosevelt's "hold-the-line" order which in turn is based on the Wage Stabilization act. **Therefore, Murray's endorsement of the Wage Stabilization Act constitutes in actuality an endorsement of the wage freezing policy of the administration. Squirm and wriggle as he will, Murray cannot escape the inexorable logic**

(Continued on page 2)

# TRADE UNION NOTES

*By Joseph Keller*

**The National Labor Relations Board last week ruled, in effect, that workers who strike for wage increases beyond the limits of the Little Steel formula have no rights under the National Labor Relations Act and other federal laws prohibiting unfair labor practices by the employers.**

This unprecedented decision was given in the case of the independent Magazine, Mailers and Deliverers Union of North Jersey which had appealed against the American News Company's discharge of members who engaged in a walkout. The board contended the strikers could not charge the company with violation of the Labor Relations Act because they struck to secure wage increases beyond the level premitted by the Stabilization Act.

The unfair labor practices act, (Wagner Act) under which the NLRB exercises its powers, is devoted exclusively to defining and prohibiting certain anti-labor practices of employers. Nevertheless, the NLRB has written its own "law" and applied it as a penalty against militant workers.

This is but the latest instance of a whole series of administrative decrees, issued by one or another of the appointed government agencies, which are gradually whittling away the protective labor legislation won by decades of labor struggle. Emboldened by the cringing attitude of the union bureaucracy, Roosevelt's agencies are undermining and abrogating the legally established rights of labor by outright administrative fiat.

* * *

**John L. Lewis's long and tortuous negotiations and maneuvers to secure a comfortable haven for the United Mine Workers inside the AFL appear to be nearing a conclusion. The recent correspondence between Lewis and Tobin made public by Lewis seems to indicate that Lewis is getting ready to drop the matter. So ends Lewis' ill-fated scheme to cut across basic questions of policy and principle in favor of clique alliances. The miners, in their struggle for wage conditions and a militant labor program, must establish fighting alliances with the most militant and aggressive sections of American labor—the auto workers, the steel workers, the rubber workers. This is the knd of an alliance the union fighters of the UMW must press —not back door deals with the Wolls and Hutchesons.**

* * *

In an editorial titled, "Labor and Politics," the April 14 **Toledo Union Journal**, organ of CIO United Automobile Workers Local 12, points out how the owning class always uses political means to further its own interests, and that labor too must utilize politics to protect its own interests.

"And what is wrong with labor seeking its economic advantage through the same means used by the business people?" the editorial asks. "Is it bad when labor seeks to protect its economic interests or advance them through political methods?"

These sound observations are followed, however, by a pretty muddled contention: "Our only regret is that labor has not yet reached the point where its political consciousness calls for the formation of a labor party which would become an effective political weapon."

To say, as does the **Toledo Union Journal**, that what labor needs is its own labor party but that the workers lack the "political consciousness" for it, is to stand the facts on their head. The American workers have long since been ready for genuine independent labor politics. The general decline in voting strength during recent elections reflects in large part the disgust of the workers with old-line parties and politics. The positive strength shown by New York's American Labor Party in the 1942 gubernatorial elections, and the new development of the Michigan Commonwealth Party movement are strong indications of the readiness of the workers to support a party of their own.

**The editors of the Toledo Union Journal need go no further than their own union's national leaders to find the true source of the failure, thus far, of American labor to build its own party. The UAW International Board members have denounced by resolution any labor party movements and attacked those locals and local leaders who have initiated the campaign, particularly in Michigan, for a new party of labor.**

* * *

An important advance for Southern labor was recorded last week when the CIO secured a union contract with the R. J. Reynolds tobacco company, manufacturer of Camel cigarettes. This is the first CIO contract won in the tobacco products industry.

The contract covers 12,000 Negro and white workers in the Winston-Salem, N. C., plant, the largest cigarette factory in the world. It was won after a three year battle to gain collective bargaining rights.

* * *

**The CIO United Automobile Workers scored an overwhelming victory in an NLRB election at the huge new Chrysler-Dodge aircraft engine plant in Chicago. The UAW-CIO defeated the AFL machinists by a vote of 8,291 to 421. For months, the Chicago Tribune, powerful reactionary newspaper, and the auto barons have been conducting a vicious smear campaign against the UAW in order to prevent CIO organization of the Dodge and other new plants.**

* * *

Four more Detroit UAW-CIO locals have gone on record supporting the resolutions passed recently by Briggs Local 212 and the Aircraft Division of Ford Local 600 calling for a special national UAW convention to rescind the no-strike pledge. The locals which have followed the lead of Briggs and Ford Aircraft are Dodge Truck, Fleetwood, Motor Products and Freuhauf.

# Branches Ahead Of Daily Quotas In 'Militant' Subscription Drive

**The Militant Subscription Campaign to obtain 3,000 new readers by June 31 through an introductory offer of 13 issues for 25c. has swung into full stride. The first two weeks of the campaign were utilized by the branches to make thorough plans for their local campaigns. The past week has shown the results of their careful planning — the branches are averaging 52 subs a day. The total number of subscriptions received last week more than doubled those received during the first two weeks of the campaign. And now that the comrades know from their own experience that all they have to do to get subs is to go out after them, the campaign will undoubtedly gain even greater momentum.**

## Outstanding Achievements of the Week

Reading not only held first place but went over its quota to hit 110%.

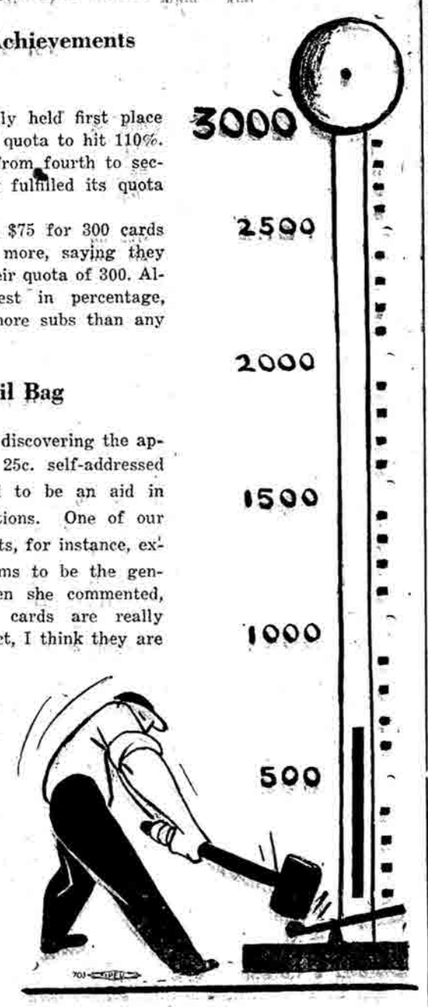
Seattle moved from fourth to second place, having fulfilled its quota by 56%.

Detroit sent in $75 for 300 cards and ordered 200 more, saying they hope to double their quota of 300. Although not highest in percentage, Detroit sent in more subs than any other branch.

## From Our Mail Bag

Our agents are discovering the appearance of the 25c. self-addressed postage-paid card to be an aid in securing subscriptions. One of our Los Angeles agents, for instance, expressed what seems to be the general reaction when she commented, "Those new sub cards are really something. In fact, I think they are the best I have ever seen for the purpose. That worker reading **The Militant** with such an intent look on his face really has sales appeal."

One of our New York agents commented, "The best sub blank we ever had. It has zip. That's doing things right!"




The increasing number of subs obtained in the campaign by the branches is working up so much enthusiasm that the comrades participating are beginning to send in letters about the achievements.

Paul K. writes that "the folks in Detroit are going great guns on the sub drive. I understand the branch is shooting for 500."

Ben T. says, "I attended the San Pedro meeting Sunday night (April 2) and to give their sub drive a push they had a skit of a suave Militant salesman facing 101 obstacles to make a sale. They hope to get plenty of 25c subs."

Other comrades should write us about their experiences in getting subs. Our agents should include in their reports information concerning those comrades who have obtained the most subs during the week and how they got them.

* * *

**Enthusiasm is high, as can be seen from the excerpts taken from our agents' letters.**

**E. Logan, Detroit:** "The new subs are coming in so fast I can hardly keep record of them. By Sunday I think we will have sold about 200 . . . Today I went out and in one hour got six subs. Everyone is saying it is a fine paper. It seems the workers are recognizing that we hold the solution to their problems."

**M. F., New Haven:** "We are going out to sell all 25 on our quota!"

**Libby, Buffalo:** "Enclosed are four 25c subs. This is only a preview. Last Friday night I went door-to-door with the paper and sold four subs to people who had never seen the paper before. Next week there will be five or six of us doing it and then we ought to see results."

**K. Hayes, Chicago:** "Eleven comrades went out on the Red Sunday last week. We sold nineteen 25c. subs."

**Our ability to obtain subs is being demonstrated in action. Get them and send them in — the scoreboard will be watched with interest!**

## SCOREBOARD

| | Quota | Subs | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|
| Reading | 30 | 33 | 110. |
| Seattle | 150 | 85 | 56.6 |
| Allentown | 15 | 7 | 46.6 |
| Toledo | 30 | 13 | 43.3 |
| Detroit | 300 | 124 | 41.3 |
| Milwaukee | 15 | 5 | 33.3 |
| Newark | 80 | 23 | 28.7 |
| Boston | 100 | 25 | 25. |
| Buffalo | 50 | 10 | 20. |
| New Haven | 25 | 5 | 20. |
| New York | 500 | 87 | 17.4 |
| Cleveland | 50 | 7 | 14. |
| Flint | 15 | 2 | 13.3 |
| San Francisco | 150 | 17 | 11.3 |
| Los Angeles | 400 | 44 | 11. |
| Minneapolis | 200 | 22 | 11. |
| Philadelphia | 30 | 3 | 10. |
| San Diego | 50 | 4 | 8. |
| Chicago | 200 | 13 | 6.5 |
| Akron | 40 | 1 | 2.5 |
| St. Paul | 50 | 1 | 2. |
| Members-at-Large and Friends | 355 | 6 | 1.6 |
| Bayonne | 50 | 0 | 0. |
| Pittsburgh | 10 | 0 | 0. |
| Quakertown | 10 | 0 | 0. |
| Rochester | 15 | 0 | 0. |
| St. Louis | 20 | 0 | 0. |
| Texas | 10 | 0 | 0. |
| Youngstown | 50 | 0 | 0. |
| TOTALS | 3,000 | 537 | 17.9 |

# RUBBER LOCALS TO CONTINUE STRUGGLE AGAINST DALRYMPLE

(Continued from page 1)

clique to move in on Local 5 and disrupt the union.

Dalrymple was reinstated, but the whole case involving his arbitrary and dictatorial actions in expelling 72 workers at the General Local, and the question concerning the right of Goodrich local to discipline Dalrymple as a member of the local, will be appealed to the next convention.

To prove that the membership of Local 5 is behind the action against Dalrymple and in agreement with the fight to defend and preserve the democratic rights of the membership, the meeting also adopted a motion to hold a referendum vote on the question.

The struggle between the membership and the International Board has not abated. At the Firestone local, a membership meeting was "invaded" by Board members and a motion forced through repudiating the local board's previous stand in support of Local 5. **The Board immediately issued a call for another membership meeting and charged the Board members with disrupting the local meeting.**

The Goodyear Local has not remained silent. The President of the Local, C. V. Wheeler, spoke at the Goodrich meeting and strongly supported the stand taken against Dalrymple and his clique.

The Goodrich Local move to reinstate Dalrymple was not a retreat on the basic issues involved. It was on the contrary a declaration of war against Dalrymple and his clique, and the first step toward a determined fight to retrieve the democratic rights of the membership at the next convention.

**Accepting the constitutional provision by which the Board has the right to interpret the constitution between conventions, the Local and all its supporters throughout the rubber union plan to go into the next convention armed with a record that proves that the International Board has disregarded the basic constitutional provisions protecting members from expulsion without trial and guaranteeing the rights of local unions.**

The following questions will have to be decided at the next URW convention:

1. Whether or not Dalrymple had the right to expel 72 workers at General without trial.

2. Whether Goodrich Local had the right to try and expel Dalrymple for violation of the union constitution.

At the root of the whole debate is the question of the no-strike pledge. Under the protective cover of this pledge, the corporations have waged an unceasing war against the unions

The companies have deliberately laid down a barrage of provocation in the attempt to force walkouts, which in turn would be met with disciplinary action by the International Officers who, intentionally or not, act as the hatchet men for the employers.

**This anti-union campaign cannot be permitted to go unchallenged. The Goodrich local has taken the lead in the fight.**

# CIO Head Favors 'Wage Stabilization'

(Continued from page 1)

**of his political support of the Roosevelt administration. Murray may whine, complain, and bluster, but in the last analysis political support for Roosevelt means support of the administration program and policies including the wage freeze. All the rest is just so much hot air.**

In contrast to the endorsement of "wage stabilization" by Murray and Company, the agents of Big Business have launched a vigorous campaign to nullify the Price Control Act by a series of amendments designed to completely take the lid off of prices and rents. One amendment would grant every individual business a profit by a cost-plus system of price determination based on a guaranteed profit over and above expenses. Another would place price control in the hands of the war production agencies which have been extremely generous to the business interests. Still another, would grant price violators the right to appeal OPA regulations to the courts and thus render enforcement well nigh impossible .

### MAINTAIN WAGE FREEZE

Administration spokesmen have been pleading with Congress not to amend the Price Control Act, promising to maintain the wage freeze if the present law is extended. Testifying before the Senate Banking Committee, William H. Davis, chairman of the WLB said: "If Congress sees fit to re-enact the program as it is, we can control wages if prices are controlled." The anniversary "hold-the-line" report, signed by Vinson, Bowles, Jones and Davis, Roosevelt's economic stabilizers, contends that prices and wages have been "controlled" by the administration and that, "we should cling to the policies and machinery which have served us so effectively thus far." **In other words, the administration announces its intention of maintaining the status quo under which wages remain frozen. All they plead for is that Big Business rest content with no more than their present fabulous war profits!**

### WORDS AND DEEDS

To the contention set forth in the "hold-the-line" report that "the cost of living as a whole is slighly lower than it was a year ago," Philip Murray replied: "To every family in the nation who is confronted daily with the stubborn fact of rising living costs, your last report will, of course, come as a complete shock. Statistics proved," Murray says, "that living costs have risen 43.5 per cent since January 1, 1941." How then does Murray justify his support to measures which, according to his own statistics, have failed to stabilize the cost of living and to an administration which, in his own words, issues "shocking" reports intended to bolster the wage freeze in the face of "the stubborn fact of rising living costs?"

There is a glaring contradiction between Murray's words and deeds. His words are intended to delude the union membership into thinking that he is fighting for their interests, his deeds, to reassure Roosevelt of his political support

**If the steel workers are serious about their demands for 17 cent hourly wage increases, if the rest of the CIO workers really want to smash the vicious wage freeze, they are confronted with the necessity of forcing Murray, Thomas and Company to get off the War Labor Board and launch a fight for wage increases in the same manner that the miners fought for their wage increases.**

**The wealth of information contained in letters received during the week is so varied that all we can hope to pass on to our readers is a cross section of them.**

Here is an excerpt from the letter of a seaman:

"I enjoyed getting ashore in San Francisco and going out on contact work with R. Haddon, the literature agent; for renewal of Militant subs. Nothing like going house-to-house to keep up one's savvy and sharpen his wits at spreading our organ and program. True, out of several people, we only secured three half-year subs, yet it was interesting. Of the three secured, two were Negroes and one was a white family. Without much time wasted or fanfare the Negro subscribers took another 6-month sub. They were very courteous and appreciated the interest we took in them. Our last visit was with a white family at which house we spent almost two hours. The man of the house, a worker (ex-farmer) was interested in socialism, etc., but wanted things done through our constitution. He thought the paper too extreme. He had a knowledge of co-ops, unions and dirty local politics. Ruth and I went to work. His wife at first refused to receive the paper but through the discussion we got friendly, even talked about farming problems, etc., and got the husband to agree that a labor party is ok. Next we pointed out that a labor party could never be built without spreading its ideas as our paper did. He finally parted with a buck for a six-month sub. **The most astounding part of this all was that neither of them so much as attempted to seriously defend the war."**

* * *

A reader in Los Angeles writes "I hope that the *Canadian News Letter* and *In The Colonies* will be carried as regular features from now on. *10 Years Ago In the Militant* is also a real help to a person who ten years ago didn't even know there was a class struggle (meaning me). It's a terrible thing to be unconscious for the first quarter century one lives."

* * *

The consistent work of our San Diego agent is bringing good results. His letter accompanying a one-year combination subscription to **The Militant** and **Fourth International** states:

"We thought you might be interested in knowing the enclosed subscription is from a Negro who is very close to us and is very active in the local NAACP. Much of our recent activity has been in this latter organization. . . **Slowly but surely we are plugging along. Each member is doing as much as he is capable. We only wish we could do more."**

MAY DAY GREETINGS!
*NEWARK BRANCH, S.W.P.*
Join Our Celebration Luncheon
SUNDAY, APRIL 30, 3 p. m.
Cadillac Restaurant
29 Hill Street
Speaker: M. STEIN

***May Day Festival***

SATURDAY, APRIL 29, 8 P. M.

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE, N. Y., 2nd Floor

*fun-dancing-entertainment-singing-refreshments*

Auspices New York Local SWP Subscription 35c

To our Imprisoned Comrades
and
to the Valiant Trotskyists Abroad
Salute on May Day
***AKRON BRANCH***
**Socialist Workers Party**

This May Day, 1944, we salute our class war prisoners, Kelly Postal and the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case victims, and we extend our hand of solidarity to all co-thinkers everywhere who are fighting capitalist oppression for a Socialist world.

***NEW YORK LOCAL, S.W.P.***

EAST SIDE BRANCH
WEST SIDE BRANCH
BROOKLYN BRANCH
QUEENS BRANCH

MAY DAY GREETINGS
TO THE
EIGHTEEN MINNEAPOLIS
PRISONERS

***CHICAGO BRANCH***
**Socialist Workers Party**

## Buy 'The Militant' Here:

**AKRON**
News Exchange, 51 S. Main

**BOSTON**
Bay State Pharmacy, 840 Tremont St.; Andelman's Newsstand, 284 Tremont St.

**CHICAGO**
Ceshinsky's Book Store, 2750 W. Division
Socialist Workers Bookshop, Room 421, 160 N. Wells

**DETROIT**
Family Theatre Newsstand, opposite theater
Saturday Bookshop, 3513 Woodward

**LOS ANGELES**
Newsstands at 5th & Main; 621 So. Hill St.
221 W. 5th Street; 2210½ Bklyn Ave. (Boyle Hts.);
Modern Book Shop, Rm. 200, 232 South Hill St.

**MILWAUKEE**
N.W. corner, Wisconsin Ave. on Third St.

**MINNEAPOLIS**
Shinder's News Agency Hennepin Ave. and 6th St.;
Pioneer News Agency, 238 2nd Ave., South

**NEW HAVEN**
Nodelman's News Depot, 106 Church St.

**NEWARK**
Downtown — Newsstand at 11 Springfield Ave.

**NEW YORK**
**Manhattan:** 14th St. between 2nd Ave. and University Pl.; Newsstands on 42nd St. between 5th and 6th Aves.; Harlem — Newsstands N.W. corner Lenox Ave. and 125th St.; S.E. corner Lenox Ave. and 135th St.; S.E. corner Lenox and 116th St.

**Brooklyn:** Newsstand at BMT DeKalb Ave. Subway station, and 5823 - 4th Ave.
**Queens:** H. L. Robertson, 108-49 New York Blvd.

**PHILADELPHIA**
N.W. corner 13th St. and Market St.

**ROCHESTER, N. Y.**
Newsstand, S.E. corner Main St. and Clinton Ave.

**SAN DIEGO, CAL.**
242 Broadway

**SAN FRANCISCO**
Stockton Cigar Store, 1788 Post St.; Duncan's Newsstand, 1986 Sutter St.; Ray's Smoke Shop, 1174 Sutter St.; MacDonald's Book Store, 867 Mission St.; Golden Gate News Agency, 81 - 3rd St.; Fitzgerald News Agency, 21-4th St.

**SEATTLE**
Eckert's, corner Washington St. and 1st Ave.; Bishop's Drug Store, 507 Jackson St.; Raymer's Book Store, 905-3rd Ave.; Bill's Smoke Shop, 1120-1st Ave.; Newsstand, 1520 Westlake St.

# May Day Celebrations And Demonstrations In Europe And The United States In The Period Of The First World War

*By Art Preis*

On this fifth May Day of World War II, the rulers of the warring nations turn terrified eyes on the flames of socialist revolution beginning to lick at the capitalist charnel house of Europe. Once more, they recall in fear and trembling the historic May Day struggles of World War I, when the workers of Europe flung a mighty challenge at the war lords and mobilized their forces for titanic class struggles.

Those May Days of the first world war ushered in a wave of proletarian revolts that dissolved the imperialist battle-lines, uprooted age-old dynasties, shook international capitalism to its foundations and heralded the triumphant Russian Revolution.

The capitalist reaction that has held sway in the first years of this present war had its counterpart in World War I. Then too the ruling classes hoped to drown working class internationalism, the very essence of May Day, in a tidal sweep of chauvinism and mass slaughter.

But today, as in World War I, the spirit of May Day lives, in the dungeons of fascist Europe, in the camps of the anti-Nazi partisans, in the mounting class struggles of the British workers, in the ranks of the Red Army fighting to save the remaining conquests of the October Revolution, in the heroic resistance of the Italian masses.

### INTERNATIONALISM

**May Day, the day of working-class internationalism, is indestructible. And the great May Day Demonstrations of the last war will soon be repeated again.**

May Day, 1916. That is a day the imperialists will never forget. For on that day in Berlin, German imperialism was struck the first great blow that in the end, destroyed its whole war machine.

Up to that day, for 22 months after the outbreak of the war in August 1914, the mighty German working class appeared hopelessly bound to the Kaiser's war regime. German imperialism seemed to have brought the German workers to their knees in one bold stroke. The great Social-Democratic Party of Germany, betraying the millions in its ranks, had violated its anti-war pledges and joined with the capitalists, monarchists and junkers and voted to support the war.

Within three days of the Kaiser's declaration of war on Russia, on August 3, 1914, the Socialist deputies in the Reichstag at their fraction meeting voted 78 to 14 to support the war appropriations. Their declaration was read the next day to a cheering Reichstag. Triumphant imperialism joyously greeted the capitulation of the largest party of the Second (Socialist) International.

### LIEBKNECHT

But there was one Socialist deputy in the Reichstag who did not bow before the war-makers. Karl Liebknecht, most courageous and heroic of the German anti-war fighters, caught up the falling banner of working class internationalism and held it aloft in the face of persecution and unparalleled vilification. **And he was one with a handful of other intransigent European revolutionists — Lenin, Trotsky and Rosa Luxemburg among them — who unflinchingly denounced the war and opposed it.**

On the first May Day of the war, in 1915, the voices of these lone fighters echoed down empty and deserted streets in all the European capitols where on May Day in the years preceding the war millions had marched. But their ringing words nevertheless penetrated locked doors, were caught by listening ears in factory and barracks.

### MAIN ENEMY

History has long since buried in oblivion the lying proclamations of the imperialists and the "socialist" traitors. But we can be sure that in Germany today the revolutionary internationalists are spreading the immortal appeal to the German workers penned by Liebknecht in early 1915. When Liebknecht heard that the Italian socialists voted to continue opposition to the war after Italy's entry into the conflict, he issued an historic manifesto:

**"The main enemy of the German people is in Germany: German imperialism, the German war party, German secret diplomacy. The German people must wage a political struggle against this enemy in its own country, in conjunction with the struggle of the proletarians of other countries against their own imperialists...**

"Proletarians of all countries! Follow the heroic example of your Italian brothers! Unite for the international class war against the conspiracy of secret diplomacy, against imperialism, against the war, for a socialist peace!

"The main enemy is in your own country!"

**Liebknecht did not appeal in vain. His words were heard above the cannons' roar. On May Day, 1916, a huge workers demonstration greeted Liebknecht in Berlin. In the midst of the German victories, thousands cheered his denunciation of the war. A panicky German ruling class, violating Liebknecht's parliamentary immunity, thrust him into prison.**

### PROLETARIAN STRUGGLE

But the proletarian struggle against the capitalist war rose in intensity, spread to all war camps, and flamed up out of the very battle lines.

Throughout Germany, gigantic strike demonstrations occurred on May 1, 1917 in protest against the starvation war rations. 250,000 Berlin workers downed tools. The key naval yards at Kiel were closed down. 125,000 munitions workers walked out, crippling German arms production. Mutiny flared in one of the main sections of the German navy. Within sight of Kiel harbor, the crews of several ships in Squadron IV set up committees and seized control of their vessels. Only after a stubborn struggle was the mutiny suppressed.

Meanwhile, on the opposite side of the battle front, the French working class was also beginning to demand a settling of accounts with their capitalist war leaders. Paris on May Day, 1917, was the scene of a mighty demonstration, the first great workers manifestation in France since the outbreak of war. Over 10,000 rallied to a mass meeting called by a "Committee for the Renewal of International Relations." The May Day strikes continued and grew, sweeping all France. **Within three weeks, almost the entire working class of Paris was on the streets. "It made one think of the French Revolution, with the populace overrunning the royal palaces..." wrote Michael Corday in The Paris Front.**

And while the French workers were striking and demonstrating, their brothers in uniform were mutinying after the offensive undertaken in April 1917. Marching to the rear, returning soldiers cried out: "Long Live Peace! They have been assassinating us!"

So widespread were the mutinies that began in the French army on May 3, 1917 that Minister of War Painleve recorded "no more than two divisions between Soissons and Paris could be absolutely relied on."

### FRENCH WORKERS

"Colonel Herbillon informs me of new mutinies..." recalls the French war President, Poincare, in his memoirs. "Men have refused to go into the trenches... Order is menaced everywhere.... The fever is spreading. Symptoms of a breakdown of discipline in the army are multiplying . . . At Dorman a few days ago soldiers cried out: 'Vive la Revolution! Down with the war!'"

And in Russia, celebrating the overthrow of Czarism and gathering their strength for the final overthrow of capitalism millions marched in the streets for the tremendous May Day 1917 demonstration. That historic mass outpouring is described in Leon Trotsky's monumental **History of the Russian Revolution.**

"...All the cities of Russia were drowned in meetings and demonstrations. Not only the industrial enterprises, but the state, city and rural public institutions were closed. In Moghilev, the headquarters of the General Staff, the Cavaliers of St. George marched at the head of the procession. The members of the staff—unremoved czarist generals—marched under May 1 banners. The holiday of proletarian anti-militarism blended with revolution-tinted manifestations of patriotism.

"In both capitols and in the industrial centers the workers dominated the celebration, and amid them the strong nuclei of Bolshevism stood out distinctly with banners, placards, speeches and shouts. Across the immense facade of the Mariinsky Palace, the refuge of the Provisional Government, was stretched a bold red streamer with the words: 'Long Live The Third International!' **The authorities, not rid of their administrative shyness, could not make up their minds to remove this disagreeable and alarming streamer. Everybody, it seemed, was celebrating. So far as it could the army at the front celebrated. News came of meetings, speeches, banners and revolutionary songs in the trenches, and there were responses from the German side."**

### MAY 1, 1918

One year later, on May 1, 1918, Russia was the scene of a tremendous May Day celebration. No czarist generals and capitalist ministers strutted this time in the parades. For this was the first May Day of the Soviet Union, the first workers state. The triumphant Bolshevik Revolution had ended the imperialist war for the Russian toilers; its impact was cracking the war fronts of all Europe. A dozen thrones toppled under the upsurge of the masses.

**America too witnessed an historic May Day during World War I. Socialist anti-war demonstrations of huge scope occurred on May Day, 1917, just three weeks after the government's declaration of war. Police and gangs of hoodlums oragnized by the bosses savagely assaulted the anti-war demonstrators. Bloody battles and mass arrests ensued.**

Mindful of May Day, 1917, and chilled by the revolutionary events in Russia, the American capitalist government in 1918 prohibited any May Day demonstrations. Aided by the traitorous labor bureaucrats of the Gompers variety, the government that promised to "make the world safe for democracy" worked to suppress all manifestations of international working-class solidarity.

### CLEVELAND MAY DAY

But not for long. On May Day, 1919, the American workers, stirred by the revolutionary events in Europe, stormed into the streets by the hundreds of thousands, marching with red flags flying in one of the most militant and mightiest May Day demonstrations this country has ever seen. In the city of Cleveland, where 50,000 paraded led by Charles E. Ruthenburg, jailed Socialist anti-war fighter and later a founding member of the Communist Party, a ferocious battle ensued. Mounted police and armed Legionaires shot and clubbed down the marchers, leaving hundreds injured and two workers dead. And this symbolized for millions the capitalist "democracy" for which the workers in uniform had been forced to die

Today, as in the latter years of World War I, the signs are multiplying throughout Europe and the world, that the revolutionary spirit of May Day is gripping the working masses. **Not all the terrorism of the fascists, the repressions and propaganda of the "democracies" and the infamous betrayals of Stalinism and the servile labor lieutenants of capitalism have succeeded in crushing proletarian internationalism. Remembering the May Days of World War I, we can confidently predict that the greatest May Days are ahead. They will mark the historic milestones in the victorious advance of world socialism.**

From Original Painting by Evelyn Novack

*NATALIA TROTSKY*

## *Greetings From Natalia Trotsky To The Imprisoned Eighteen*

**The year 1944 has ushered you behind prison gates. Such is the destined lot of genuine revolutionists who fight for the better future of mankind. From one century to the next the main occupation of the ruling classes has been the persecution of progressive ideas that serve the interests of the popular masses. The forms of persecution have undergone change—from burning at the stake to incarceration in "democratic" dungeons—but the essence has remained the same.**

The forward march toward a humane social system takes place slowly, by fits and starts. The force of resistance of the rulers of the world, shaken by the experience of the great October Revolution, has been rendered subtle in the extreme, especially in the utilization of methods to defend their vital interests. Persecutions, jails, tortures, executions, wars—everything has been set in motion. The sufferings of the masses have reached incredible proportions — but the masses alone are destined to bring order into the bloody chaos created by the bourgeoisie.

**May Day, the great holiday of the world working class, will be celebrated by you in the "democratic" prisons. This is your contribution to the revolutionary struggle for the establishment of the new system of human life.**

**Please accept my warmest, fraternal greetings,**

NATALIA SEDOV TROTSKY

## Notice To Subscribers

According to postal regulations, your address is not complete unless it shows the postal zone number. For example: **The Militant's** zone number is New York 3, N. Y. The postal authorities are now insisting that this regulation be carried out in the mailing of **The Militant.** Check the wrapper in which **The Militant** is mailed to you and if the zone number is not included, be sure to send it to us at once, to assure delivery of your paper.

Send the zone number to:

**Business Manager**
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

# Stalinists Cement Union Of Minnesota FLP And Democrats

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. — **The shot-gun marriage between the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party and the languishing Minnesota Democratic Party was finally consummated at an amalgamation convention of the MFLP held April 14-16 in Minneapolis.**

Its own leaders, a clique of Stalinists and CIO lackeys of Roosevelt put the gun to the head of the MFLP. They steered and coerced the tottering wreck of what remains of the MFLP into a vote to fuse with the Democrats under the hybrid name of Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party.

In this ignominious fashion, the independent farmer-labor political movement, which at times, has made not only state but national political history since 1919, was forced into a union with the capitalist political machinery it was founded to oppose and wipe out.

### FUSION CONVENTION

This cynical sell-out of the party built by the workers and farmers of Minnesota comes at the very time when Roosevelt and the Democratic Party are revealing their anti-labor role most clearly, and when the workers and poor farmers stand most in need of a party of their own to defend them against the onslaughts of Big Business and its political henchmen.

The chief business of the fusion convention, after the formal nuptial services had been completed, was the deals for party posts and draft of a slate for forthcoming state elections. **After a period of doldrums, in which the convention could not seem to find a suitable candidate for governor, the delegates plunked with much huzza and noise for a wealthy farm manager and Democratic politician, Byron G. Allen.**

The fusion was hailed in telegrams from Philip Murray, CIO President, Sidney Hillman, head of the CIO Political Action Committee, and CIO United Automobile Workers President R. J. Thomas. A. F. Whitney, head of the Railroad Brotherhoods, attended in person to give his blessings to the unholy alliance. Roosevelt sent one of his chore-boys, Oscar Ewing, vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee, to help draw up the marriage contract and smooth out any last-minute squabbles over dowry rights (posts) among the principals.

### IN DECLINE

The MFLP has been in decline for several years, particularly since the Stalinist machine seized control of its apparatus. The failure of the party to give an answer to the manifold problems of the workers and farmers had brought it increasingly into discredit.

The real voice of organized labor was scarcely heard at the convention. Stalinist CIO officials swarmed all over the convention floor, did much of the speaking and jockeyed the convention along. Only two figures from the Minneapolis AFL, officials from the Electrical and Laundry Workers, were present to sanction the fusion. **The official political committee of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, which represents a large part of the organized workers in Minnesota, had expressed itself as opposed to the fusion.**

# Toledo Unionists Denounce Executive Board Resolution

**TOLEDO, O.—A big change is taking place in Toledo, the birthplace of the UAW. The militancy of the early days at Auto-Lite, Spicer, Willys-Overland and Chevrolet is again asserting itself in a manner which is causing no little uneasiness among conservative union leaders. After chafing for several years under "labor's no-strike pledge" and the ensuing provocative acts of industrial management, the rank and file finally made its voice heard at a recent membership meeting of Local 12, UAW-CIO, an amalgamated union of some 30,000 members.**

The occasion was the announcement of the newly adopted policy of the UAW-CIO International Executive Board calling for punitive action against any member involved in an "unauthorized" work stoppage. A motion was made from the floor demanding the presence of the four top officers, Thomas, Addes, Reuther and Frankensteen at a coming special meeting to justify to the membership their dictatorial decree. The discussion that ensued proved beyond doubt that the "politicians" had gone too far.

**One worker said, "We elected these men to represent us, not to dictate to us. Under this policy management and their stooges can provoke stoppages in which the labor union militants, the boys who walked the picket lines of the '30's, will have their heads cut off by their own International."**

Another said, "This is not union politics. There are no lines drawn here. The Reuther faction and the Addes faction both voted for this outrage. Let them come down here to explain themselves. If they cannot or will not, they don't belong in office."

International Representative James Crowley finally got the floor and, with several hands still in the air, bellowed, "I move the previous question!"

The vote on the motion carried unanimously.

Melvin Schultz, Local 12 President, then gave an impromptu speech which carried the meeting past the hour of adjournment. Schultz took a "yes-and-no" position on the Board's resolution and apologized at some length for recent failures of the Local Union. Local 12 has in the last month lost labor elections to the M.E.S.A. and the "independent" Scale Workers of Ohio, both of whom used the UAW's "no strike" pledge as effective propaganda in their campaigns.

* * *

**The five men, recently fired from Willys "Aircraft," have been reinstated, because of the strong pressure brought to bear by the rank and file. The victory, however, is by no means a decisive one. The five men were not allowed to return to "Aircraft" but were put to work in other departments. They will also receive no back pay for time lost.**

*by C. Charles*

★

Order from

*PIONEER PUBLISHERS*
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.



**New York**

**MAY DAY RALLY**

CELEBRATE MAY DAY 1944
WITH THE TROTSKYISTS

*Speakers:*

*C. THOMAS*

*ROSE KARSNER*

*MARGARET SHOENFELD*

**Chairman: JOHN G. WRIGHT**

**Special program of MAY DAY features**

**SUNDAY, APRIL 30th, 8 P. M.**

**MAIN BALL ROOM - IRVING PLAZA**

**15th Street and Irving Place**

**Auspices: Socialist Workers Party - New York Local**



*JUST OFF THE PRESS!*

The Illustrated 32-Page Pamphlet

***"WHO ARE THE PRISONERS IN THE MINNEAPOLIS CASE?"***

*Describing—*

The Background of the Prosecution
The Smith 'Gag' Act
The Danger to Workers' Rights
The Threat to Free Speech
Biographies of the 18 Prisoners

***Foreword by James T. Farrell***

**Single Copies 10c**

*Write for Prices on Bundle Orders*

**Published by**

**CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE**
**160 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.**

**This Coupon and 25 Cents Entitles You to a 3-Month Subscription to**

**THE MILITANT**

**A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER**

Published in the interests of the Working People
The only newspaper in this country that tells the truth about labor's struggles for a better world

You may start my subscription to THE MILITANT with your INTRODUCTORY OFFER of 13 issues for 25c.
I enclose 25c (coin or stamps).

Name .....
(Please Print)

Street ..... Apt. .....

City ..... Zone .....

State .....

# Socialist Workers Party May Day Manifesto

(Continued from page 1)

critical promises of the Atlantic Charter. They are disclosed every day in the actions of these governments.

The lie that this is a war for democracy is glaringly revealed in every sphere. When the Allied armies marched into North Africa they did not bring self-determination and liberation to the natives of that territory. These millions of colonial slaves have been subjected anew to the despotic rule of French imperialism, now propped up by Allied bayonets.

The people of Italy have found themselves betrayed. They were promised peace and liberty if only they would overthrow Mussolini and the Fascist regime. Instead their country has been converted into a battlefield and Roosevelt and Churchill are trying to impose on them the infamous police-military dictatorship of Badoglio and the King.

The Allies have already made it clear that they intend to carry out the self-same program throughout Europe. They are keeping their hands free to unite with the Vichy elements in France and establish a French "Badoglio" government to rule over the French people. They have already announced their intentions to dismember Germany and impose a military rule over its people. Roosevelt and Churchill are planning to bring to the suffering masses of Europe not "democracy," not "liberation," not the "four freedoms," not prosperity, well-being and peace. No! Their real aims are to Balkanize Europe, to convert the continent into colonial provinces under the heel of Anglo-American capitalism, to subjugate and enslave its peoples and to exploit them for the benefit of the banks, the cartels, the Wall Street and Lombard Street pirates.

Who else can they ally themselves with in Europe, who else is ready to join in this nefarious scheme, who else is left to guard the decaying, criminal capitalist system, except the brass hat aristocracy, the capitalist and landlord cliques who yesterday collaborated with Hitler and the Nazis and who stand ready to collaborate on the morrow with Roosevelt and Churchill.

The American working class, like the workers of Britain, have the clear duty of exposing the counter-revolutionary aims of the Anglo-American rulers, of fighting against this program and of rallying the ranks of labor at home against it. The cry must be taken up by the broad ranks of the labor movement:

**Hands off the European revolution!**

The lie that this is a war for democracy is likewise revealed in the attitude of the Allied governments toward the enslaved peoples of the colonies. Before the ink had dried on the Atlantic Charter which was to bring the "four freedoms" to the four corners of the earth, Churchill declared that it *did not apply* to India, where 400,000,000 colonial slaves are held in bondage by the British colonial despots. Britain has refused to return Hong Kong to China even after the war, despite the fact that it is Chinese territory and that China is an ally. Practically all the countries of Latin America are being converted into vassals of Wall Street imperialism and their peoples harnessed to the Allied war machine. Wall Street holds on grimly to Puerto Rico, where mass starvation has become chronic under its criminal rule, despite a promise of independence made more than forty years ago. As a matter of fact, the Wall Street ghouls are already plotting to partition the colonial empires of their rivals and subject them to the domination of the American plutocracy. The *Army and Navy Journal* has announced that an agreement has already been reached for the United States to take over all the Japanese-mandated islands in the Pacific, etc., etc.

On this May Day we Trotskyists again reaffirm the pledge of the Socialist vanguard to arouse the working class in support of the liberating slogans:

**Freedom for the colonies! An end to colonial exploitation and oppression!**

Inseparable from the struggle for the socialist emancipation of mankind is also the support of colonial countries against their oppressors. China, so long torn apart and oppressed by all the imperialist powers, is now fighting a war of national liberation against Japan. We support China's war in spite of Chiang Kai-shek's bestial, dictatorial rule, just as we support India in her struggle for independence against the British yoke. The struggles of the colonial peoples deal blows to imperialism and facilitate the socialist victory of the working class.

**Defend China and the struggle for the complete independence of India and all the colonial peoples!**

* * *

The United States entered the first world war as a debtor country and emerged out of the war as a creditor country. In the second world war the commanding position of American imperialism is growing every day. The American plutocracy possesses enormous wealth, it enjoys vast material resources, it commands an unsurpassed productive plant. Wall Street's power and influence are already beginning to reach into the remotest corners of the earth. The American ruling class, the richest and most arrogant since the advent of the capitalist system, is now preparing to establish a new super-empire of imperialism, to usher in the "American Century." This colossus seeks nothing less than world domination. In its drive for this goal, U. S. Big Business has become the leader of counter-revolution the world over.

## LET THERE BE NO ILLUSIONS

Let there be no illusion among the American working class that this program, if realized, would mean greater prosperity and freedom for the people at home. The very contrary is true: In the midst of the war for "democracy," while workers are pouring out their blood on the battlefields, the capitalists have unleashed a ferocious offensive against the labor movement at home. They have frozen wages, under conditions of soaring war inflation. They have chained the workers to their jobs, in the midst of a wild, unabashed orgy of war profiteering and looting of the public treasury. They have virtually outlawed strikes, they have passed "gag" laws, abolishing freedom of speech and of the press, tearing up the Bill of Rights. Now they propose to conscript labor.

Wall Street's program of world domination spells hunger, repressions and totalitarianism at home. It means the maintenance of huge American military forces, in the words of Secretary Knox, "to police the world for 100 years." It means fighting a war against the European working class who are battling to overthrow their tyrants and to establish a new Socialist society of peace and plenty. It means putting down rebellions of millions of colonial slaves who are seeking to liberate themselves from the yoke of imperialist exploitation.

The victory of Wall Street will not spell a victory for the people, for "democracy," for "freedom from want." No, it will only signify the victory of totalitarian rule, the domination of unbridled monopoly capitalism. It will spell the enslavement and pauperization of the American masses. For Wall Street aims not only to place Europe on hunger rations and keep Asia in colonial bondage but also to Prussianize the United States. They aim to keep 13 million Negroes in a condition of debasement, servitude and shame, to destroy the American labor movement and bring wages and working conditions down to coolie levels.

And yet, is it not true that the trade union bureaucracy—the Murrays and Greens—together with the social-democrats, the liberals and the Stalinists are all busy selling the war to the masses? Is it not true that they all repeat after Roosevelt that it is a war for the "four freedoms" and that the workers must support it, must sacrifice, must give up the right to strike, must give up the fight for wage increases and better working conditions? Yes, all these forces have sold out to the capitalist class, they have betrayed the people, they are servants of the war machine. They are all liars and betrayers and deceivers of the people. They are seeking to corrupt the labor movement, they are conspiring with Roosevelt and the capitalists to housebreak the unions, throttle their independence, destroy their militancy and place the American working class in the strait jacket of the war government.

## STALINIST DECEIVERS

A leading role in this campaign of lies, deception and betrayal is being played by the Stalinists, who are emerging as the very spearhead of reaction inside the labor movement. Today it is becoming more and more accepted by the broad ranks of labor that the Stalinists are not an independent political force, but simply the subservient agents of the Kremlin bureaucracy and of Stalin's foreign policies. After Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, the Stalinists in this country, as throughout the world, climbed on the bandwagon of Wall Street's war. They quickly became the most brazen defenders of American capitalism. They quickly became the most brazen sell-out artists in the trade unions. They were the first to campaign for the reintroduction of piece work and the speed-up into the plants. They are in the front ranks in the dastardly work of betraying and breaking strikes, they are in the forefront in covering up and defending the anti-labor crimes of Roosevelt. They jumped to the fore in the unions to support Roosevelt's campaign for forced labor, they are in the front ranks of those who seek to keep the workers tied to the capitalist parties, heading off independent labor parties, and savagely fighting the labor party movements where they arise.

*Trotskyist May Day Marchers*

**Banner of the Trotskyist contingent in the United Front 1934 May Day demonstration in New York City. Workers of every tendency in the labor movement, except the Stalinists, marched in a five-hour long demonstration.**

But the American working class is not taking things lying down. They are not merely passive clay, nor unthinking cannon fodder. They are not an inert mass, mere objects of exploitation and oppression by the capitalist war machine, and objects for betrayal in the hands of the labor bureaucrats and the Stalinist finks. No! The American working class while still backward politically, while still tied to the capitalist parties and not yet committed in its majority to the struggle for a new Socialist society is nevertheless a class that has mades giant strides forward in its political thinking since Pearl Harbor. The American workers are beginning to break from the prison house of capitalist politics, as witness the new labor party developments in Michigan and elsewhere. They are already challenging the wage freeze and the repressive war machinery as witness the four coal strikes, the rail struggles and the numerous smaller strike struggles throughout the country; they are already beginning to challenge the no-strike pledge, as witness the actions of leading Detroit auto unions.

The class conscious Socialist militants in the labor movement will work to organize this movement of resistance on broad national lines and to equip it with a conscious program. They will expose the infamy and crimes of the labor bureaucrats and the Stalinists, and work to destroy their influence among the broad masses of labor. They will rebuild the labor movement on new militant foundations and arouse all of its ranks behind the militant fighters who are fighting for a new workers' society.

**Revoke the No-Strike Pledge! Smash the Wage Freeze! For the Escalator Clause—the Rising Scale of Wages to Meet the Rising Cost of Living!**

**Confiscate All War Profits! Nationalize Industry under Workers' Control! Break with the Capitalist Parties! Build the Labor Party! Abolish Jim Crow! Forward to a Workers and Farmers Government!**

* * *

The longer the war continues the more unavoidable becomes the political awakening of the war-weary, tortured peoples of the world. It is already clear that the conflagration that will sweep the European continent as a consequence of the present world slaughter will be far more widespread, far more furious, far more conscious and determined than the revolutionary conflagration that swept Europe 25 years ago. All the accumulated hatred, all the bitterness for the sufferings, the deaths, the horrors and tortures will burst forth on the heads of the perpetrators of these crimes, on the capitalist rulers who bear the responsibility and who seek to perpetuate the system of hunger and exploitation which gave birth to the war; and it will be vented on all the traitors and scoundrels, the trade union bureaucrats, the Social-Democrats, the liberals and above all the Stalinists who lied, deceived and betrayed the masses in the hour of crisis and who are continuing their treachery today in frantic efforts to prop up the decaying, dying system of capitalism. In the days to come, these deceivers, these betrayers will be spurned, their names will be dishonored, their influence destroyed. Only we Trotskyists, the disciples of the great revolutionist Leon Trotsky, the heirs and continuators of the program and teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the only genuine followers of the Bolshevik traditions and of Marxist internationalism—we Trotskyists alone have told the truth, we only have stood apart and have done our revolutionary duty. Only we have fought for the interests and the future of the working class and have guarded its revolutionary heritage.

On this May Day the Trotskyists stand forth in all countries as the sole consistent defenders of both the immediate and historic interests of the working class. That is why 18 leading American Trotskyists are today confined to prison, where they were railroaded by Roosevelt under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act. That is why the British Trotskyists are being hounded by Churchill. The working class is learning to understand this. As part of its struggle against the anti-labor campaign of reaction it will take up the defense of the imprisoned Trotskyists. As part of the campaign to protect its organizations and rights, it will take up the slogan:

**Free the Imprisoned 18 Trotskyists!**

To the plans of the capitalist rulers for continuing the slaughter of the peoples so that the survivors may be enslaved, the Trotskyists counterpose a program for the fraternal union of the workers of all lands, to the end that capitalism may be abolished and a peaceful, progressive social order established in which war, hunger and misery will have vanished forever.

To the demand for national unity in the interests of capitalism, put forward by the Stalinists, the Social Democrats, the labor union fakers and all other betrayers of the working class, the Trotskyists sound the clarion call for workers' struggle against capitalism.

Above the carnage of the battlefields we raise high the banner of socialist internationalism, humanity's only hope. Beneath its folds the revolutionary vanguard of the war-weary peoples is already assembling. Its victory is certain.

**Long live May Day—day of workers' struggle and solidarity!**

**Against the Imperialist War! For Peace through Socialism!**

**Long Live the Struggle for Socialism!**

**Long Live the Socialist United States of Europe!**

**Forward to the Socialist Society. For a New World of Peace, Freedom and Plenty!**

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
SOCIALIST WORKERS
PARTY

## Articles On Italy, Japan Featured In April F. I.

The April issue of **Fourth International** features a detailed analysis of "Nine Months of Allied Rule in Italy," by E. R. Frank. Since the armistice between the Badoglio government and the Allies was signed on Sept. 3, the allies have betrayed the Italian workers, suppressed all political activity, hamstrung the awakening trade union movement, encouraged the growth of the new monarchist "Blue Party." How all these moves fit into the "blueprint of Anglo-American war aims, methods and plans" is irrefutably demonstrated in this important study.

The role of women in Japan, their double victimization under the semi-feudal peasant economy and the distorted capitalist economy of the cities, is graphically told in the third of the series, "Japan Faces the Abyss," by Li-Fu-Jen. The virtual slavery to which Japanese women are bound, is only one manifestation of the complex, contradictory nature of Japanese economy, one of the many weaknesses which the author utilizes to prove that in 1944, Japan is the weakest link in the imperialist chain, as was Czarist Russia in 1917.

"The National Question in Ireland," a reprint of sections of the theses of the Irish Trotskyists, discusses the relationship between North and South Ireland, pointing out the necessity for national unification.

The strike wave in Britain and the role of the English Trotskyists, the steel workers' fight against the wage freeze, Roosevelt's slave-labor program, the growing disillusionment of the European workers with the role of Anglo-American capitalism, the seventeenth anniversary of the Chinese Revolution, are discussed by the editors in "The Month in Review."

**Readers of Fourth International who have been following with keen interest the translation of Trotsky's pamphlet, "Military Doctrinarism," will want to read the last section of this brilliant work which appears in the April issue.**

EVERY READER OF THIS PAPER CAN

**Aid Labor's 18**

POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THEIR FAMILIES
BY CONTRIBUTING ONE DOLLAR

JAMES T. FARRELL, Chairman
CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE
160 Fifth Avenue, New York City 10, N. Y.

I am clipping this ad and sending it to you with my dollar for the Minneapolis Prisoners Pardon and Relief Fund.

Name .....
Address .....
City and State .....

*THE MILWAUKEE BRANCH*
*of the*
**S.W.P.**
Pledges Solidarity with the 18 Fighters for Socialism

**In Detroit, Mich.**
You can get
THE MILITANT
at the
FAMILY THEATRE NEWSSTAND
opposite the theatre

Members of the
*BOSTON LOCAL, S.W.P.*
This May Day reaffirm their loyalty to International Socialism and to their Imprisoned Comrades. We extend May Day Greetings to our absent members, and we remember those Comrades who have died in this imperialist war.

Less than a Year Old the Southside Branch Celebrates its First May Day with Warmest Comradely Greetings to the 18
*SOUTH SIDE BRANCH*
**LOS ANGELES LOCAL, S.W.P.**

*A Timely Book on Italy*
**Fascism and Big Business**
By DANIEL GUERIN
336 Pages List price $1.00
Special sale price .75
Order from
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

*The Minneapolis Branch of the Socialist Workers Party extends May Day Greetings to the readers of The Militant and to our imprisoned comrades.*

MAY DAY GREETINGS
*SAN FRANCISCO BRANCH*
**Socialist Workers Party**
SOLIDARITY WITH OUR IMPRISONED COMRADES

GREETINGS OF SOLIDARITY TO ALL TROTSKYISTS

On this May Day we bow our heads in honor of our Martyred Dead and Imprisoned Comrades throughout the World.

*SEATTLE LOCAL*
**Socialist Workers Party**

# The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

*By Charles Jackson*

## Why the Negro Struggle?

**Many genuine progressives view the question of the Negro struggle for equality in a purely formal manner and thus arrive at the position where they attempt to completely ignore the racial factor. Basing themselves on this false position, they refuse to take an active part in the Negro struggle as such. Although sincere in their motives, they may as well for all practical purposes capitulate to the capitalists and bow off the stage. For they are of no value to the workers when they stand aloof from the battle and gaze nonchalantly in the other direction.**

Admittedly, there is a wealth of scientific facts which are liable to lead one off on this tangent of ultra-leftism. For example, there is reason to believe that at some prehistoric time there was but one race of men. Various groups were later split off by glacier movements. These tribes were left to evolve under different environmental conditions. Thereupon "survival of the fittest" became the motivating factor in the determination of external appearances.

In the snowy Caucasus mountains the blondes survived because the light color of skin and hair served as natural camouflage. In Africa and other equatorial regions only those individuals survived whose outer skin contained the greatest amount of the dark brown pigment, melanin — our only natural protection against the burning ultra-violet rays of the sun. In the same manner a bushy texture of the hair developed as a further protection against skull fracture in the deep jungles where there was danger of being struck on the head by falling objects. These changes took centuries to effect. In the future they may disappear, now that so many inventions of man protect us artificially against the elements of nature.

### ANOTHER FACTOR

Here is another fact that is frequently pointed out: When we examine any so-called Negro group we see people of many shades — from very deep brown to yellow and pink. The color and texture of hair may be entirely different. **This, of course, is mute evidence that the slaveholding plantation owners of the South had their own ideas long before Senator Bilbo came on the scene with his warnings against "mongrelizing" America. It also supports the claim that there is no true Negro race today.**

Coming now to the sociological aspects of the question, why should the Trotskyists, knowing these facts, devote special or separate attention to the Negro in their effort to hasten the building of a socialist society for all the inhabitants of the world?

Does our Negro Struggle column which consistently fights Jim-Crowism represent the gross contradiction of being a form of Jim-Crowism itself?

Are we merely shadow-boxing by fighting for the Negro race when there is no such homogeneous group in existence? Why use the word Negro, (which means black), while those of even dark brown hue are now in the minority?

**If we are to be practical in our struggle for a new social order we must not ignore existing social forces. The origin and destination of "race" do not determine its present place and role in the class struggle. American capitalism, in its decay and decline, finds it necessary to perpetuate Jim Crow. Although this prop is not of our making, nevertheless we must face it and understand it if we would destroy Jim Crow.**

Color prejudice is propagated against the Negro, (any one who is not "white") to divide and weaken the labor movement. Since skin color is apparent to all and since around 18 percent of the working people are noticeably not "white" we may expect to see the Negro issue exploited more and more by the ruling class of America.

Thus, regardless of the many scientific facts pointing to the eventual negation of race, the capitalists are now effectively using color prejudice to the detriment of all the working people. Furthermore even a prejudiced white worker must realize that special attention should be given to bettering the conditions of the workers lowest in the economic scale because the capitalists constantly attempt to reduce the level of all the workers down to that of the lowest strata.

Let us not ignore the fact that Negroes in this capitalist "democracy" have been officially designated to be second-class citizens. We have been lynched without benefit of judgment by a group of our peers, denied basic democratic rights, segregated in the Army, the Navy and in civilian life. We have been falsely portrayed by the capitalist press, movies and radio as a group of half-human clowns and buffoons.

**As a result of these insults and oppressions, the average Negro views life strictly from the point of view of a Negro. He may be too proud to accept a specifically designated "Negro post" in a union but will only read a labor paper if it carries a Negro news section. We dare not forsake this large group of militants to the chauvinist race fakers.**

This column will consistently fight for the equality of Negroes. If the readers will go over the other articles and editorials in the Militant their political perspective will surely be broadened. They will also learn from experience that their struggle is inevitably intertwined with the struggle of the working class as a whole.

Let us not forget that the Negro question in this country may prove to be the Achilles heel of American capitalism. Conversely, it could be the Achilles heel of the proletariat if labor does not learn to unite its ranks and permits Fascism to triumph.

**When the white and Negro workers of America learn to stand shoulder to shoulder against their common enemy, capitalist exploitation,—it will mean victory.**

*PIONEER PARAGRAPHS*

## WHY LABOR MUST FIGHT FOR A SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES

Under the conditions of disintegrating capitalism, the masses continue to live the meagerized life of the oppressed, threatened now more than at any other time with the danger of being cast to the pit of pauperism. They must defend their mouthful of bread, if they cannot increase or better it. There is neither the need nor the opportunity to enumerate here those separate partial demands which time and again arise on the basis of concrete circumstances—national, local, professional. But two basic economic afflictions, in which is summarized the increasing absurdity of the capitalist system: that is unemployment and high prices, demand generalized slogans and methods of struggle.

The Fourth International declares uncompromising war on the politics of the capitalists which, to a considerable degree, like the politics of their agents, the reformists, aims to place the whole burden of militarism, the crisis, the disorganization of the monetary system and all other scourges stemming from capitalism's death agony upon the backs of the toilers. The Fourth International demands employment and decent living conditions for all.

Neither monetary inflation nor stabilization can serve as slogans for the proletariat because these are but two ends of the same stick. Against a bounding rise in prices, which with the approach of war will assume an ever more unbridled character, one can fight only under the slogan of a sliding scale of wages. This means that collective agreements should assure an automatic rise in wages in relation to the increase in prices of consumer goods.

If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands, inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish. "Realizability" or "unrealizability" are in the given instance a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery.

---

**(From "The Founding Conference of the Fourth International," pp. 19-20; published 1939 by Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Pl., N. Y., 128 pp. 25c.).**

# Poll Taxers Fight To Keep 'White Supremacy'

(Continued from page 1)

white and black, in economic and political subjection. **In turn, the abysmal conditions of the Southern working class have placed a drag on the living standards and wages of the entire working population of the country. The system of political servitude in the South, bolstered by the poll tax, exists as a focus of virulent infection that can spread and destroy civil rights and liberties everywhere.**

**Senator James O. Eastland, Poll-tax Democrat from Mississippi, who claims he has 1,000 amendments ready for the Anti-Poll Tax Bill in case the "White Supremacy" bloc fails to kill the bill by a filibuster.**

### SPEARHEAD OF REACTION

Today, in fact, the Southern poll tax bloc in Congress is the very spearhead of the Roosevelt-Wall Street anti-labor offensive. This bloc exists as a powerful, solid force, the legislative shock troops of reaction who have led the assault on all labor through the wage-freezing Stabilization Act, the Smith-Connally anti-strike law, the Smith "Gag" Act, the "Rich Man's Relief" tax bills. The poll tax which helps to keep the "white supremacy" Southern Democrats in Congress is thus a direct and immediate concern of all labor.

No other national issue today so thoroughly exposes the "progressive" and "democratic" pretenses of the Roosevelt regime; no other issue is as embarrassing for the pro-Roosevelt liberals and labor bureaucrats, who must perform elaborate acrobatic stunts in their efforts to skip over the salient fact that the political mainstay of the Roosevelt administration is the "Solid South" of the poll tax and lynching bee.

The poll-taxers themselves offer the best testimonials to the enduring alliance between the "white supremacy" Southern Democrats and Roosevelt. In the very sessions of the South Carolina legislature which removed the primary laws in order to circumvent the Supreme Court ruling, State Senator R. M. Jefferies, an ardent poll-taxer and Negro baiter, counseled: **"The remedy for the national problem even though we do not agree with the President on much of it does not lie in deserting the Democratic Party. Roosevelt at his worst is better than any Republican on the racial or any other issue."**

### SENATOR BILBO

Senator Bilbo of Mississippi, who is preparing to lead the filibuster in the U. S. Senate against the anti-Poll-Tax Bill, in the midst of his recent address before a special joint session of his state legislature begged leave to "digress long enough" from his rabid defense of the poll tax and "white supremacy" to pour words of praise upon Roosevelt. "Let no good Democrat vote against Franklin Roosevelt because he dislikes some of his associates. The interest of Mississippi and the South will be best conserved by the continuation of a Democratic administration. With Roosevelt, now a world leader, we can win."

These words advertise in advance the farcical nature of the "conflict" now ensuing in the Senate between the poll-tax Rooseveltians and his "progressive" wing over the anti-poll Tax Bill. The note of travesty was struck from the start when the "liberal" Democrats graciously postponed debate for weeks, in deference to the poll-taxers.

### CONTRASTS

**Master parliamentarians, who know how to shove through an anti-labor measure in a few hours, suddenly find themselves tripping like clumsy novices over the parliamentary devices the poll-tax bloc has put forward to postpone the debate.** Senator Mead shakes his head sadly and in public print concedes defeat in advance. It's all the fault of the "Republicans" who are planning a "double-cross" and won't vote for cloture to limit debate and permit the bill to come to a vote. Roosevelt, with his eye on the Negro vote in the North, weeks ago mumbled his "for the record" opinion that the poll-tax is to be "deplored." He has since retired within the White House to meditate on the "Four Freedoms" everywhere but in the poll-tax South.

Not the least significant aspect of the whole issue of the "lily white" primaries and the poll tax is the contrast between the treatment Roosevelt's administration accords the poll-taxers and those who fight the poll-taxers and all they stand for. **United States Senators and Representatives, state governors, the rich "elite" of the South openly proclaim defiance of the Supreme Court's decision and federal law. They issue a virtual call to arms against any encroachment on "white supremacy." No FBI bloodhounds are on their trail; they are not hauled up on trial for "seditious conspiracy."**

But 18 Trotskyist leaders who fought for their socialist convictions are put behind prison bars.

The poll tax and the rotten system of mass servitude it represents will never be seriously challenged by Roosevelt or any other capitalist politician. Only the working class, in militant unity, has the will and the power to destroy the bastions of capitalist rule in the South. **For that, labor, white and Negro, needs its own independent political party, a labor party not bound in any way to capitalist politics, a party which will wage merciless struggle against all the works of capitalism, including the Southern slave system of "white supremacy."**

### NOTICE

The National Office of the Socialist Workers Party is very much in need of a good typewriter for the next few months. If you have a typewriter you can loan for the next period or contribute, will you please communicate with the National Office, SWP, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

## *Haymarket Demonstration Scene*

**The scene of the police assault on the Chicago demonstration in Haymarket Square, May 4, 1886, which was called in protest against the murder of four McCormick plant strikers during the historic struggle for the eight-hour day that marked the first May Day 58 years ago.**

**An unknown person, believed to have been a hired provocateur, threw a bomb into the police ranks and killed several. This was the signal for savage reprisals by the employers and their government tools. Eight strike leaders, Spies, Parsons, Engel, Fischer, Lingg, Schwab, Fielden and Neebe, were arrested and tried for murder. Their trial was a brazen frameup. Spies, Parsons, Engel and Fischer were hung; Lingg committed suicide to cheat the bosses' executioners; Schwab and Fielden were sentenced to life imprisonment and Neebe to 15 years.**

**When he stood up to be sentenced, Spies uttered the words which have inspired the labor movement ever since: "I say, if death is the penalty for proclaiming the truth, then I will proudly and defiantly pay the price. Bring on your hangman!"**

# Akron Union Urges Pardon for the 18

(Continued from page 1)

"You may consider my contribution the balance of my bill, which amounts to $250, and I will make that my contribution to your efforts to free the 18."

The Local CRDC committees are swinging vigorously behind the national campaign to gather 10,000 signatures by July 1st on the petitions appealing for Presidential pardon, making a total to date of almost 4,000 signatures. From the New York Knitgoods Workers Union, Local 155, ILGWU, 135 signatures were received. The Local Committees which have established their quotas on signature gathering are Bayonne, Buffalo, Flint, Milwaukee, Newark, San Francisco, Toledo, Minneapolis and St. Paul.

**Following the endorsement of the National Association For the Advancement of Colored People, both San Francisco and the Minneapolis NAACP have sent resolutions of protest against the imprisonment of the 18 and have called for a presidential pardon. The Minneapolis NAACP has sent a $25 donation to the CRDC, on behalf of its campaign.**

READ 'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

# 10 Years Ago In The Militant

**APRIL 28, 1934**

NEW YORK—"All Out to Madison Square on May Day," rang out the headline of **The Militant.** An article signed by James P. Cannon called upon revolutionary workers to march under the banner of the Communist League of America (Trotskyist), at a united front demonstration which included the Socialist Party, the Young People's Socialist League, the I. W. W., the needle trades and other New York unions, but not the Stalinists. Cannon explained, "the idea that the political and economic organizations of the workers, regardless of their differences in principle, must form a united front of action against the class enemy — this idea, which was rejected with such fatal consequence in Germany, has brought a host of organizations together and governs their practice in carrying out all the arrangements . . . each organization shall preserve its own banner . . . March separately, strike together — this is the fundamental basis for the united front of the workers."

The Stalinists, in line with their splitting policy of the "third period," had organized a separate demonstration to be held at the same hour at Union Square. The Trotskyists, pursuing a Leninist policy, were working "to convince the workers, in the course of common action, of the inadequacy of reformism and the necessity for revolutionary policy and leadership . . . In intransigeant principled struggle against social reformism we shall work for the new party and the new international. Meantime, now as always, we shall stand for the united front in concrete struggle of the day."

**The May Day Manifesto of the Communist League of America, appearing in The Militant, reviewed the events of the preceding year, the betrayal by Stalinism of the German workers, the heroic struggle of the Austrian proletariat, the sprouting of fascist Silver-shirts in the United States. The Militant warned, "Now, as never before, the united front of all working class organizations must be formed . . . Against company unions; against lynching; against the growth of Fascist movements; against the growing danger of imperialist war."**

USSR—Rakovsky, heroic figure of the Russian Revolution and first President of the Ukraine, leader of the Trotskyist left opposition, announced his capitulation to the Stalinist bureaucracy. He declared his intention to "submerge his differences with the Party and to submit completely to discipline." Leon Trotsky wrote in **The Militant:**

"In Rakovsky we mourn a lost political friend . . . Rakovsky's declaration is the expression of a subjective impasse and of pessimism. . . As a revolutionary factor the Comintern is dead. From the Moscow leadership the world proletariat can expect only obstructions, difficulties and sabotages . . . " Trotsky pointed out that the defeats suffered by the working class in Bulgaria, Germany, Esthonia, England, Poland, Austria, and the consequent decline of the world revolutionary movement, were all sharply reflected in the ranks of the Left Opposition, driving many of its adherents into the orbit of the bureaucracy. Trotsky concluded: "The Leninist current in the Soviet Union can from now on only be revived by great revolutionary successes in the West. Those Russian Bolsheviks who remain true to our cause under the unheard of pressure of national reaction — and there are more of them than we suspect — will be recompensed by the further course of development. But now the light will come not from the East but from the West. Even the shamelessly betrayed Chinese Revolution waits for a new impulse on the part of the world proletariat.

**"We have no time to weep long over lost friends — be it even comrades of thirty years of struggle. Let every Bolshevik say to himself: 'A sixty-year old fighter with experience and prestige left our ranks. In his place I must win three twenty-year old ones and the gap will be filled.' Among the twenty-year old ones new Rakovskys will be found, who with us or after us, will carry forward our work."**


Greetings from the
**BOSTON BRANCH**
*of the*
**S.W.P.**
May Day Meeting
SATURDAY, APRIL 29
8:15 P. M.
Speaker: Eloise Black
158 BROADWAY

Heartiest May Day Greetings
*from*
**NEW HAVEN BRANCH**
*of the*
**S.W.P.**
Free the 18!
Let Us Go Forward!

May Day Greetings to the 18!
Celebrate with the
**CLEVELAND BRANCH**
**S.W.P.**
May Day Meeting
Sunday April 30, 7:30 P. M.
516 Blackstone Bldg.
1426 WEST 3rd STREET

LIBERATE THE 18 AND KELLY POSTAL!
May Day Greetings to the Militant and Socialist Workers Party!
***PHILADELPHIA BRANCH, S.W.P.***

The 18 Imprisoned Trotskyists are the Banner Bearers of the Revolutionary Traditions of May Day
***SAN PEDRO BRANCH***
***LOS ANGELES LOCAL, S.W.P.***

The Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party sends May Day greetings to Kelly Postal and to the Eighteen Minneapolis prisoners. Their uncompromising devotion to the working class stands out as a beacon light to guide us to a socialist future which will end injustice and exploitation forever.

Warmest May Day Greetings and Solidarity with the 18!
Best Wishes for the Magnificent Six-Page Militant!
***BUFFALO BRANCH***
**Socialist Workers Party**

Revolutionary May Day
Greetings to the 18 Trotskyist Leaders from
***CENTRAL BRANCH***
***LOS ANGELES LOCAL, S.W.P.***

***THE ST. PAUL BRANCH***
of the
**Socialist Workers Party**
Salutes May Day 1944
and Extends Greetings of Solidarity
to Our 18 Imprisoned Comrades
and all Class-War Prisoners

***Introduce Your Friends to THE MILITANT Through Our Trial Sub Offer***

# THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

VOL. VIII—No. 18 Saturday, April 29, 1944

*Published Weekly by*

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N
at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547
FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

**THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILITANT which are expressed in its editorials.**

Subscriptions: $2.00 per year; $1.00 for 6 months. Foreign: $3.00 per year, $1.50 for 6 months. Bundle orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

**To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.**

**— LEON TROTSKY**

## JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. **Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.**
2. **Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.**
3. **Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.**
4. **Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.**
5. **A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.**
6. **Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.**
7. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
8. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**
9. **The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.**

## Ward Strike

President Roosevelt has intervened in the Montgomery Ward strike with a version of the notorious "plague on both your houses" formula he used with such telling effect against the 1937 "Little Steel" strikers. He condemns the Ward strikers in the same breath as he directs the company to comply with the War Labor Board ruling. Roosevelt thus takes the position of the judge who convicts both the robber and the victim who resisted the robbery.

Roosevelt's "impartiality" in this instance, so useful in diverting onus from the company and concealing the infamous role of the War Labor Board, stands in sharpest contrast to the treatment he accords workers who dare to defy any WLB dictum. As he has demonstrated on more than one occasion, Roosevelt moves with lightning speed and ruthlessness against striking workers. All the coercive machinery of government is hurled against them. There are no months of delay, no studied pretenses of "impartiality."

The case against Ward is so clear-cut and damning that even the abject CIO bureaucrats had to give behind-the-scenes support to the strikers. For the second time within 18 months Sewell L. Avery ("Slavery" to the workers), rabid open-shop head of a $600,000,000 a year mail-order monopoly, had openly challenged a War Labor Board decision. The WLB from January 15, when it first ordered the company to renew the union contract, until the day after the strike began, treated Avery with kid-gloves. Had the workers not struck, there is little doubt that the WLB would have stalled until Avery had succeeded in destroying the union. Even after the WLB was compelled to refer the Ward case to Roosevelt, he took ten days—many a strike has been smashed in far less time—to polish up his double-edged compliance order. Even now Avery remains recalcitrant, while the union leadership hastens to hustle the strikers back to work.

In the Montgomery Ward case, Roosevelt has given proof positive—if any were needed at this late date—that the WLB is an agency designed for the sole purpose of keeping the trade union movement docile and helpless. Relying on the WLB for justice stands on the same plane as relying on company unions to win union conditions and wages. After months of litigations, hearings and negotiations, the Ward workers had to strike to save their union. The Ward strike carries a clear lesson for all of American labor: Break with the employer-dominated WLB. All reliance on labor's own organized strength in action!

## Stalinists

The Stalinists have emerged inside the labor movement as the vanguard of reaction. They are today working with might and main to stamp out every labor party movement and to keep the American working class tied to the two capitalist parties.

No sooner did the Stalinists capture in alliance with Hillman the American Labor Party in New York than they began conspiring, with Congressman Marcantonio as the front man, to make a deal with Tammany Hall, with a view toward the eventual fusion of the ALP with the corrupt Tammany machine.

In Michigan, having failed to head-off a labor party formation, the Stalinists are fighting savagely inside the unions to prevent support of the new party. At the same time, hand in hand with Frankensteen and other CIO bureaucrats, they are working overtime to rehabilitate the Democratic Party of Michigan by supplying it with a labor coloration.

In Minnesota, the Stalinists captured control of the Farmer-Labor Party in recent years and reduced the organization to a shell. Now they have dealt it the final blow. Under their leadership the MFLP was turned into an adjunct of the Democratic Party machine.

The fight for a labor party is today also a fight to destroy inside the labor movement every vestige of Stalinist influence.

**The top officials of the CIO Automobile Workers and the Michigan CIO combined last week with elements from the state AFL in an attempt to rehabilitate the discredited Michigan Democratic Party at its state convention. This capitalist political machine recently has been so befouled with major scandals, involving bribery and corruption, that it has become a stench in the nostrils of the Michigan working class. Yet, in their eagerness to combat the growing Michigan labor party movement and rally labor's waning support for a Roosevelt fourth term, the union officialdom with the UAW-CIO heads and Stalinists in the lead, played the key role in the Michigan Democratic Party convention. UAW vice-president Richard Frankensteen, the convention key-note speaker, assured the Democratic Party politicians that "The Third-party movement in labor's ranks does not have the support of the responsible heads of the CIO or UAW and will not have it."**

## Britain's Empire

The English ruling class is gravely concerned these days over the fate of its colonial empire. Recent sessions of Parliament have devoted considerable attention to this topic in connection with the forthcoming conference of empire Prime Ministers in London. What worries these gentlemen more than the military challenge of Germany or Japan, is their own increasingly unfavorable position as against their present ally, U. S. Big Business. The commanding position of Wall Street on the world arena becomes more marked with the prolongation of the war. The American monopolists are out to grab everything they can lay their hands on. The British imperialists who have so long monopolized the greatest colonial prizes of the world have reason to fear their Wall Street rival. The bold encroachments of the American empire builders are alarming the Tory ranks. In this hour of crisis the Tories are certainly in dire need of assistance. And they are getting it.

From whom? The Labor Party leaders!

Like a troop of Hollywood marines, these bureaucrats have jumped to the rescue. The "leftist" critic of Churchill, Laborite Emmanuel Shinwell was one of the main speakers in the recent Parliamentary debate on empire policy. He and that other "labor leader" Arthur Greenwood, were in the forefront of the pack of imperialist wolves who howled their defiance, and snarled at Wall Street with impotent rage. These "labor statesmen" stand shoulder to shoulder with Churchill in warning U. S. Big Business to keep hands off the colonial preserves of the British monopolists and joined with him in the challenge that the Empire, come hell or high water, would be maintained.

The Laborites remain true to the perfidious tradition of Ramsay MacDonald, Snowden and Thomas. They continue as abject lackeys of the British capitalist class. Once again they are joining hands with the bitterest enemies of the colonial peoples. Once again they are uniting with the Tories against the liberationist struggle of the colonial peoples.

The Tory press has of course hailed Mr. Shinwell ecstatically. The British colonial despots need "national unity" today more desperately than ever before.

But the rejoicing of the Tories is somewhat premature. The recent strike struggles in England are clear indications that the workers are moving to secure their own rights and interests, that they are heading for a break with Churchill and Company. And this inescapably will lead in the days ahead to a break with the Laborite lackeys. The Bevins, the Morrisons, the Shinwells and the rest of this treacherous and cowardly crew will be thrust aside. The English workers will unfurl their own class banner.

The labor bureaucrats have united with the British imperialists in defense of the Empire against its rivals and against the colonial peoples. The British workers will forge a different kind of unity. They will extend the hand of solidarity to the oppressed colonial masses for a joint struggle against the British and all other imperialist oppressors.

# Novack Addresses Mass Meetings In Northwest

**JAMESTOWN, North Dakota, April 18—George Novack, National Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, was the speaker of the evening at the regular monthly meeting of the state officers staff, and district fieldworkers of the North Dakota Farmers Union held at the state headquarters here Monday April 17.** In the audience were many of the foremost farm cooperative leaders in the Northwest, including Glenn J. Talbott, President of the North Dakota Farmers Union, A. L. Hellebust, Acting-Secretary-Treasurer, Martin Byrne, Director of Organization, Mrs. Lulu Evanson, State Junior Leader, and Harold V. Knight, Managing Editor of the North Dakota Union Farmer.

"The frameup and imprisonment of the 18 CIO and Socialist Workers Party leaders in the Minneapolis Labor Case is not only an attack upon organized labor and advanced social ideas but also a blow at the basic democratic rights of the American people," said Mr. Novack, in his speech. "The Smith 'Gag' Act under which they were the first to be convicted is a vicious instrument of oppression which must be wiped off the statute books or else, because of the precedent set in this case, other unionists and other political groupings of workers and farmers will be subject to similar persecution.

WITCH-HUNTS

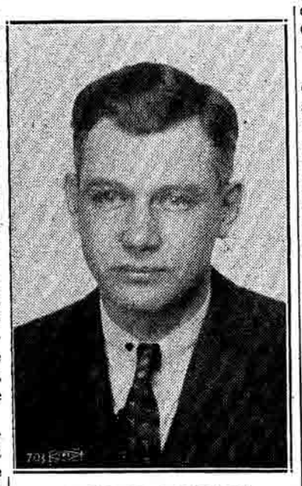
**"The railroading of the 18 must be regarded as a revival of the witch-hunts which took place during the First World War against socialists and others holding radical labor and anti-war views. Then, such socialist leaders as Eugene V. Debs were put behind bars solely because of their ideas; members of the I. W. W. were jailed for their militant labor activities; and here in North Dakota such farm leaders as Joseph Gilbert, Secretary of the Non-Partisan League, were imprisoned for their uncompromising defense of the rights and interests of the working farmers. Today Joseph Gilbert as a member of the CRDC National Committee is helping our fight to liberate these 18 labor and socialist leaders who have been victimized for similar reasons."**

Mr. Novack concluded by calling upon these North Dakota farm leaders to join the host of labor unions and other progressive organizations throughout the country which have already backed the efforts of the CRDC to obtain presidential pardon for the 18 and to secure the repeal of the vicious Smith 'Gag' Act. He was given assurances of such support, after a lively question period.

FARMERS UNION

The North Dakota Farmers Union is reputed one of the largest and most influential sections of the National Farmers Union. Over one-third of North Dakota's 66,000 working farmers belong to this powerful economic cooperative which has 1,200 chartered locals in the state. As a progressive voice of the family-type small farmer in the lower two-thirds bracket of agricultural income, the Farmers Union carries on a vigorous and extensive educational as well as organizational program in defense of the rights of the farmers. At its last annual convention the North Dakota division renewed its pledge "of fullest possible cooperation with organized labor, recognizing that except as organized workers and organized farmers join together in building a free world, there is no hope to accomplish the goals of either."

**George Novack, National Secretary of the CRDC, will be in San Francisco May 1 to May 6, where he is scheduled to address a mass meeting on Wednesday, May 3. Following his appearance in San Francisco, he will visit Los Angeles and San Diego from May 8 to May 22.**



GEORGE NOVACK
National Secretary, CRDC

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., April 12—Over 150 people attended the mass meeting on the Minneapolis Labor Case, addressed by George Novack, National Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. The meeting was held at the Andrews Hotel under the auspices of the Twin Cities Branch of the Workers Defense League, which is handling the defense of the Minneapolis Case in this area, and the resident members of the National Committee of the CRDC. Dr. Joseph Warren Beach, professor of English at the University of Minnesota, presided.

Novack declared that the Minneapolis Labor Case will go down in history as the shame of Minneapolis. He told the audience, which included many figures prominent in free speech fights of the past and present, that the Minneapolis Case, like those of Sacco and Vanzetti, Tom Mooney and Gene Debs, is a blow to the rights of labor and so long as the precedent set in this case is allowed to stand, no one is free to utter his honest opinion if it is not agreeable to the powers that be.

The logical sequel to the Smith "Gag" Law, under which the 18 defendants in the Minneapolis Case were railroaded to prison, was the Smith-Connally labor law.

Reviewing the history of the case, Novack described the deals and counter-deals between Roosevelt, Attorney General Biddle and Daniel Tobin of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Novack reported that Tobin poured over a million dollars into Minneapolis to stem the movement of the drivers' union into the CIO. The result has been that Local 544-AFL is now run by dictators and there has been no election in the union since 1940, when the former leadership, now imprisoned, were elected to office.

MILES DUNNE

**Miles B. Dunne, president of Local 544-CIO, reported on visits he had made to Sandstone, Minnesota, where 14 of the 18 defendants are incarcerated. He appealed for funds to aid the families and dependants of the prisoners. The audience contributed $145 toward the defense. Evelyn DeBoer, wife of Harry DeBoer, an organizer for 544-CIO and one of the prisoners, spoke in behalf of all the prisoners' families and thanked those present for aiding in the struggle to free the 18.**

During his week's stay in the Twin Cities, Novack spoke to 150 students and faculty members at the University of Minnesota Student Forum on Tuesday. Friday evening, members of the two Minneapolis branches of the Workmen's Circle heard Novack's message from the CRDC. A contribution was made to the defense by the two organizations. On Saturday, Novack spoke to the Saturday Lunch Club and on Sunday he addressed the Minneapolis Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Minneapolis NAACP adopted a resolution condemning the imprisonment of the 18 and wrote to President Roosevelt asking their release. A contribution of $25 was voted by the branch. A house party, sponsored by the WDL, was held Saturday evening in St. Paul.

PETITION CAMPAIGN

Hundreds of signatures on petitions to Roosevelt, asking for a pardon for the 18 prisoners, were obtained in meetings at which Novack appeared and many new friends were made in the nation-wide campaign to defend the members of Local 544-CIO and the Socialist Workers Party.

**As part of his trip to Minnesota, Novack visited the 14 prisoners in Sandstone and Kelly Postal, imprisoned at Stillwater, Minnesota, whose defense is also being conducted by the CRDC. Novack brought the greetings of the thousands of fighters for civil liberties to the prisoners and in turn will take their message of solidarity to their supporters throughout the country.**

**Over 175 labor, liberal, fraternal and Negro organizations have joined the Civil Rights Defense Committee's fight to free the 18 prisoners and the petition campaign for a presidential pardon is well under way.**

# International Notes

DENMARK

Workers in Sondorborg, a manufacturing center of 40,000 in southern Jutland, downed tools in a general strike last week to protest the killing of one person and the wounding of two others by German naval guns, according to an AP dispatch from Stockholm. Thousands turned out for the funeral of the victims and sang anti-Nazi songs. German troops dispersed the demonstrators and placed a number under arrest. Barbed wire barricades were erected by the authorities to curb the movements of the demonstrators, and Danish police assisted by Germans patrolled the town with machine-guns. Despite these measures, the crowds demonstrated again in the streets in the evening.

CHINA

An order has been issued by Chiang Kai-shek forbidding the Chinese army practise of tying newly-enlisted soldiers together or placing them behind bars in an effort to prevent desertions, stated a UP dispatch from Chungking. The practice has been going on ever since the commencement of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, but this is the first time there has been any public admission of it. Reluctance of China's peasant youth to enter military service is a reflection of their detestation of Chiang's reactionary regime of oppression, hunger and distress. It is conclusive proof of the inability of that regime to lead a popular war against Japanese imperialism. The Kuomintang cannot inspire soldiers for the fight. Chiang's belated order will change nothing essential. It is not military service which the youth of China balks at, but the rotten regime of landlord-capitalist rule which robs and starves them.

* * *

Genevieve Tabouis, the French political commentator, writes in the April 1 **Pour La Victoire**, De-Gaullist paper published in New York:

"The strongest communist cells (in Germany) are in the armament factories, for many elderly men and women have now been mobilized for war work and they went through the school of trade unions and of the Marxist party in Germany. In most cases these cells have established close contact with the foreign workers and all together practice sabotage. The chief of the Gestapo in Hamburg admitted: 'the number of professional political criminals has increased and we must admit that our citizens are only rarely willing to aid the Gestapo in repressing their activities.' He adds that the activity of the communists is encouraged by the fact that numerous dossiers of the Gestapo have been destroyed during bombardments.

**"In closing let us point out that all opposition in Germany today is constituted partly by people between the ages of 40 and 60, partly by a large group of workers' youths and young intellectuals who have grown up during the war and whom the nazi regime has offered nothing but a cavalcade of death, terror, privation and corruption."**

* * *

At the convention of the Italian Stalinists, held in Bari on January 25-30, Di Donato spoke on "the defects and weaknesses of our press" and offered proposals to insure greater control so that all Stalinist papers follow an identical line. In a unanimously accepted motion the "right of the central organs to designate the line of the local papers" was reaffirmed.

**Apparently the Stalinist bureaucrats have to clamp down to force all the local committees to sell the new line of supporting the Badoglio government.**

* * *

Cesare Rossi, one of Mussolini's Blackshirt thugs who participated in the murder of Giacomo Matteotti, Italian Socialist deputy, in May, 1924, has been released from prison by the Allied authorities, according to a United Press report from Naples.

The release of Rossi is of a piece with the action of the British government in ending the imprisonment of the English fascist leader, Sir Oswald Mosley.

**For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs**

## Government Approves Big Salary Boosts for Bosses

Testifying before the Senate Banking Committee last week, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury John L. Sullivan admitted that the salary stabilization unit of the Bureau of Internal Revenue hasn't followed any "hold the line" order in approving raises for corporation executives.

Typical of the generous attitude of the administration toward the big money boys, according to Sullivan's revelation, is the Treasury Department's approval of salary increases totaling $1,094,000 for 95 corporation officials previously averaging close to $75,000 a year. This is an average raise of $11,500 a year, approved as Sullivan stated, to "provide incentives for the better prosecution of the war," and because of their "increased responsibilities."

Among the "patriotic" plutocrats who have been provided such increased monetary incentives is Emil Schram, president of the New York Stock Exchange, for whom the Treasury Department two weeks ago approved a salary boost from $48,000 a year to $65,000, or 35 per cent. Sullivan confessed that this case is not exceptional.

**All told, the Treasury Department has approved over 80 percent of the requests for corporation salary raises, totaling $118,582,438. The wage freeze apparently applies only to workers. When you come to high-salaried "patriots," it is necessary to line their pockets with gold to provide them with the proper "incentive" to produce.**

**Sullivan conceded that his figures did not even give the full picture of executive salary increases because his department has no record of raises the bosses have paid themselves under regulations permitting many increases without any government approval at all.**

## Administration Conceals Figures On War Profits

While the Bureau of Labor Statistics has been publicizing misleading statistics intended to conceal the real extent of price rises in order to bolster Roosevelt's wage-freezing policy, other administration agencies have instituted a "rigid censorship" of government statistics revealing the astronomical war profits of the corporations.

The charge that Roosevelt's Stabilization Director Fred Vinson and other top officials have deliberately banned from the public information on corporate profits now in the hands of the government, was made last week by AFL President William Green.

"Could it be," asked Green, "that those responsible for the top economic stabilization policies felt that mere publication of these facts would challenge the fairness of the overall economic stabilization policy which leans so heavily on rigid wage control while evading many basic price and profit issues?"

Green's accusation should come as no surprise. A few Washington correspondents have previously disclosed that the secret reports of the OPA on profits reveal conscienceless price gouging, looting of the public treasury, and astronomical corporation profits.

**OPA Director Bowles, a Roosevelt appointee, has suppressed the publication of profits figures under the pressure of corporations and Congressional forces seeking to knock out even the weak props of the present price-control setup while reinforcing legislation upholding the wage freeze.**

## FBI Will Save Them from "Reds," Hoover Tells DAR

**J. Edgar Hoover, FBI chief, last week addressed the palpitating venerables of the Daughters of the American Revolution in convention assembled. The dowager dames of "no-more American Revolutions" heard Hoover declaim upon the real role of the FBI, and with delicious shudders and knowing nods absorbed his description of the "chief dangers" confronting their "American way of life" against which the FBI is mobilizing its forces.**

Hoover indicated that the "chief danger" comes from those who are "inciting hatred between classes," and stated, "I fear the future and what it will bring, more because our internal defense has been weakened than because of any external threat of force." In short, Hoover fears more the action of militant labor, the class struggle, than the military forces of Nazism.

Not the fascist scum, the America Firsters, Christian Mobilizers and their ilk, but the "militant, self-seeking, loudly vocal groups of muddled emotionalists, parlor pinks, fellow-travelers and avowed Communists," were the principal objects of Hoover's fears and ominous portents. It is with the most conscious and outspoken defenders of the labor movement, the "reds," that the FBI is preparing to deal.

Up jumped the **Daily Worker**, no doubt stung to the quick by Hoover's reference to "parlor pinks," and belabored the FBI head for using language that "bears a strange resemblance to that used by the indicted seditionists and by the Hearst-Patterson-McCormick newspaper Axis," and "for his acceptance of the Dies views and tactics."

As usual, the indignant Stalinists miss the point or rather, obscure it. Hoover does indeed express the views of the most fascist-minded sectors of America capitalism. What the Stalinists deliberately fail to point out is that such an individual has been chosen and permitted to remain as the head of the most powerful police agency in the country by the Roosevelt administration. Hoover's agency operates under the Justice Department headed by Roosevelt's "liberal" bloodhound, Attorney General Biddle.

**While Roosevelt's "left-wing," like Ickes and Wallace demagogically pump up and down the arms of the defunct "New Deal," his principal police agency is preparing to act by hounding and suppressing labor in the coming period of economic crisis, unemployment and working class upsurge. Ickes, Wallace and the Stalinists are useful to Roosevelt in rounding up votes of deceived workers for a "Fourth Term." But Hoover, the cop, is Roosevelt's choice for enforcing the real "post-war" program.**

**FREE THE 18!**